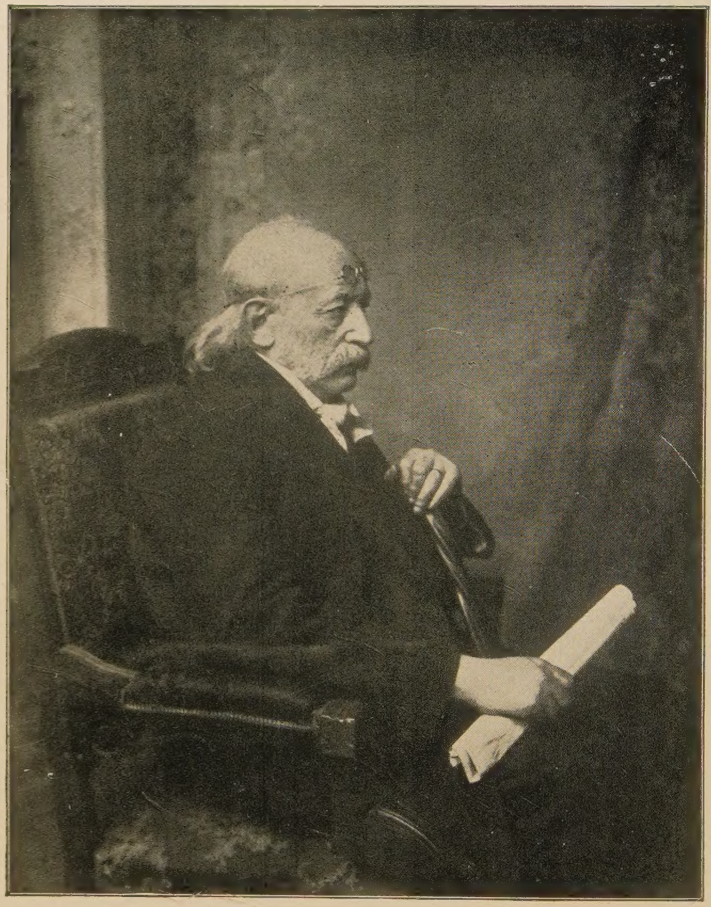
Central Conference of American Rabbis

YEARBOOK

VOLUME XXIX

CINCINNATI, OHIO

1919



Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise

1819—1900

Isaac Mayer Wise

Founder of the

Central Conference of American Rabbis

and

First President

1889-1900

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

THIRTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION

APRIL SECOND TO SEVENTH
NINETEEN HUNDRED AND NINETEEN
CINCINNATI, OHIO

Isaac M. Wise Centenary

VOLUME XXIX

EDITED BY RABBI ISAAC E. MARCUSON

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1918-1919

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Fineshriber, William H.
Hecht, Sigmund
Heller, Max
Koch, Samuel
Levi, Harry
Mendes, F. De Sola
Rubenstein, Charles A.

Army and Navy Prayerbook

Moses, Isaac S., *Chairman*
Ehrenreich, Bernard C.
Enelow, Hyman G.
Frisch, Ephraim
Grossman, Rudolph
Harrison, Leon
Koch, Samuel
Landman, Isaac
Lyons, Alexander
Mendes, F. De Sola
Schulman, Samuel
Silverman, Joseph
Stern, Nathan
Wolf, Horace J.
Wolsey, Louis
Zielonka, Martin

Church and State

Lefkowitz, David, *Chairman*
Feuerlicht, Morris M.
Kornfeld, Joseph S.
Levi, Charles S.
Rauch, Joseph

Alabama—Newfield, Morris
Arkansas—Witt, Louis
California—Meyer, Martin A.
Colorado—Friedman, William S.
Connecticut—Mann, Louis L.
Delaware—Stern, Richard M.
Dist. of Columbia—Stern, Louis
Florida—Kaplan, Israel L.
Georgia—Marx, David
Illinois—Hirsch, Emil G.
Indiana—Feuerlicht, Morris M.
Iowa—Mannheimer, Eugene
Kansas—Mayer, Harry H.
Kentucky—Rauch, Joseph
Louisiana—Jacobson, Moses P.
Maryland—Rubenstein, Charles A.
Massachusetts—Levi, Harry
Michigan—Franklin, Leo M.
Minnesota—Deinard, Samuel N.
Mississippi—Brill, Abraham
Missouri—Harrison, Leon
Montana—Levin, J. K.
Nebraska—Singer, Jacob
New Jersey—Foster, Solomon
New Mexico—Bergman, Moise
New York—Frisch, Ephraim
North Carolina—Mayerberg, J. L.
Ohio—Kornfeld, Joseph S.
Oklahoma—Blatt, Joseph
Oregon—Wise, Jonah B.
Pennsylvania—Krauskopf, Joseph
Rhode Island—Gup, Samuel M.
South Carolina—Raisin, Jacob S.
Tennessee—Fineshriber, Wm. H.
Texas—Barnstein, Henry
Virginia—Calisch, Edward N.
Washington—Koch, Samuel
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Lauterbach, Jacob Z., *Chairman pro tem.*
Cohon, Samuel S.
Freehof, Solomon B.
Kohler, Kaufman
Rappaport, Julius
Silver, Abba Hillel

Contemporaneous History

Deutsch, Gotthard, *Chairman*
Anspacher, Abraham
Cohen, Montague N. A.
Elzas, Barnett A.
Freund, Charles J.
Greenburg, William H.
Haas, Louis J.
Leiser, Joseph
Levin, Jacob K.
Mattuck, Israel I.
Willner, Wolff
Wolfenstein, Samuel

Curators of Archives

Englander, Henry, *Chairman*
Lauterbach, Jacob Z.
Morgenstern, Julian

Co-operation with National Organizations

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Heller, Max
Kohler, Kaufman
Krauskopf, Joseph
Lefkowitz, David
Philipson, David
Rosenau, William
Schulman, Samuel
Silverman, Joseph
Stolz, Joseph

Descriptive Catalog

Leipziger, Emil W., *Chairman*
Editors—Buttenwieser, Moses
Kohut, George A.
Lovitch, Meyer
Mannheimer, Eugene
Moses, Alfred G.
Rhine, Abraham B.
Zepin, George

Finance

Wolsey, Louis, *Chairman*
Hirschberg, Abram
Marcuson, Isaac E.
Morgenstern, Julian

Investments

Simon, Abram, *Chairman*
Morgenstern, Julian, *Chairman pro tem.*
Franklin, Leo M.
Wolsey, Louis

Publications

Franklin, Leo M., *Chairman*
Frisch, Ephraim
Hirshberg, Samuel
Goldenson, Samuel H.
Marcuson, Isaac E.
Salzman, Marcus
Wolsey, Louis

Relief Fund

Stolz, Joseph, *Chairman*
Bernstein, Louis
Levi, Gerson B.
Newfield, Morris
Schanfarber, Tobias

Religious Education

Grossman, Rudolph, *Chairman*
Alexander, David
Cohn, Frederick
Hirschberg, Abram
Krass, Nathan
Levy, Clifton H.
Lyons, Alexander
Magnes, Judah L.
Mann, Louis L.
Merritt, Max J.
Ranson, Marius
Rosenbaum, David
Thurman, Samuel

Religious Work Among Spanish Jews

Deutsch, Gotthard, *Chairman*
Koch, Samuel
Morgenstern, Julian

Religious Work in Universities

Calisch, Edward N., *Chairman*
Brill, Abram
Cronbach, Abraham
Harris, Maurice H.
Harrison, Leon
Isaacs, Abram S.
Kopald, Louis J.
Mayerberg, Samuel S.
Merritt, Max J.
Rypins, Isaac L.
Silber, Mendel
Tintner, Benjamin A.
Wise, Jonah B.
Zielonka, Martin

Responsa

Kohler, Kaufman, *Chairman*
Deutsch, Gotthard
Landsberg, Max
Rappaport, Julius
Rauch, Joseph

Revision of Haggadah

Cohon, Samuel S., *Chairman*
Deinard, Samuel N.
Lefkovits, Maurice
Levi, Charles S.
Levi, Gerson B.
Schwartz, Samuel

Revision of Union Prayer-book

Philipson, David, *Chairman*
Marcuson, Isaac E., *Secretary*
Calisch, Edward N.
Bettan, Israel
Enelow, Hyman G.
Grossman, Louis
Kohler, Kaufman
Morgenstern, Julian
Rosenau, William
Schulman, Samuel
Stolz, Joseph

Social Justice

Wolf, Horace J., *Chairman*
Bernstein, Louis
Bottigheimer, Seymour G.
Coffee, Rudolph I.
Fischer, Henry M.
Friedman, William S.
Goldenstein, Raphael
Gorfinkle, Joseph
Latz, Charles B.
Levy, Felix A.
Lowenstein, Solomon C.
Peiser, Simon
Philo, Isidor E.
Raisin, Jacob S.
Rosenthal, Frank L.
Stern, Richard M.

Solicitation of Funds

Hirschberg, Abram, *Chairman*
Marcuson, Isaac E., *Chairman pro tem.*
Bloom, I. Mortimer
Feuerlicht, Morris M.
Fox, G. George
Goldenson, Samuel H.
Morgenstern, Julian
Rosenthal, Isidore
Silver, Abba Hillel
Tarshish, Jacob
Tedesche, Sidney S.
Volmer, Leon

Summer School

Berkowitz, Henry, *Chairman*
Anspacher, Abraham S.
Ettelson, Harry W.
Goldenson, Samuel H.
Grossman, Rudolph
Levy, Felix A.
Mann, Louis L.
Meyer, Martin A.
Newfield, Morris

Survey of Jewish Religious Conditions

Silverman, Joseph, *Chairman*
Currick, Max C.
Ehrenreich, Bernard C.
Englander, Henry
Fox, G. George
Goldenson, Samuel H.
Jacobson, Moses P.
Landman, Isaac
Levi, Charles S.
Sale, Samuel
Yudelson, Albert B.
Zepin, George

Synagog Music

Singer, Jacob, *Chairman*
Barnstein, Henry
Braun, Frederick E.
Cantor, Hyman B.
Ettelson, Harry W.
Heller, James G.
Holzberg, Abraham
Lazaron, Morris S.
Loewenberg, William
Marx, David
Mayer, Eli
Silberfeld, Julius
Stern, Nathan
Wolsey, Louis

Systematic Jewish Theology

Schulman, Samuel, *Chairman*
Heller, Max
Hirsch, Emil G.
Kohler, Kaufman
Krauskopf, Joseph
Neumark, David

Special Committee on Weekday Religious Instruction

Schanfarber, Tobias, *Chairman*
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Currick, Max C.
Ehrenreich, Bernard C.
Franklin, Harvey B.
Kory, Sol. L.
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Schwarz, Jacob D.
Silver, Maxwell
Reichler, Max
Weinstein, Aaron L.

Special Committee on Holiday Observance

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Blau, Joel
Cohen, Simon R.
Fichman, David
Hevesh, Joseph
Lewinthal, Isidore
Magnin, Edgar F.
Mazure, Maurice M.
Meyerovitz, Jacob I.
Nathan, Marvin
Warsaw, Isidor

TEMPORARY COMMITTEES OF THE CINCINNATI CONVENTION

President's Message

Berkowitz, Henry, *Chairman*
Cronbach, Abraham
Englander, Henry
Franklin, Leo M.
Goldenson, Samuel H.
Heller, Max
Hirshberg, Samuel
Koch, Samuel
Meyer, Martin A.
Moses, Isaac S.
Philipson, David
Rosenau, William
Sale, Samuel
Schanfarber, Tobias
Schulman, Samuel
Silverman, Joseph
Simon, Abram
Stolz, Joseph
Wise, Stephen S.
Witt, Louis
Wolf, Horace J.
Wolsey, Louis

Resolutions

Fineshriber, William H., *Chairman*
Buttenwieser, Moses
Bernstein, Louis
Cohon, Samuel S.
Deutsch, Gotthard
Feuerlicht, Morris M.
Foster, Solomon
Grossman, Rudolph
Lefkowitz, David
Leipziger, Emil W.
Levi, Charles S.
Marcuson, Isaac E.
Mayer, Harry H.
Morgenstern, Julian
Moses, Alfred G.
Neumark, David
Newfield, Morris
Rauch, Joseph
Reichler, Max
Rypins, Isaac L.
Wise, Jonah B.
Zepin, George
Zielonka, Martin

Nominations

Hirschberg, Abram, *Chairman*
Brill, Abram
Friedman, William S.
Kaplan, Jacob H.
Kopald, Louis J.
Mayer, Eli
Mendoza, Louis D.
Ranson, Marius
Salzman, Marcus
Schwarz, Jacob D.
Solomon, George

Audit

Marcuson, Isaac E., *Chairman*
Cohn, Frederick
Freund, Charles J.
Goldstein, Sidney
Holzberg, Abraham
Mark, Jerome
Stern, Richard M.
Tedesche, Sidney S.
Weinstein, Aaron L.

Thanks

Kornfeld, Joseph S., *Chairman*
Anspacher, Abraham S.
Bloom, I. Mortimer
Goldenstein, Raphael
Latz, Charles B.
Lichtenstein, Morris
Lovitch, Meyer
Mazure, M. M.
Miller, Julian H.
Mischkind, Louis A.
Tarshish, Jacob
Thurman, Samuel

Press

Englander, Henry, *Chairman*
Bottigheimer, Seymour G.
Cohen, Simon R.
Currick, Max C.
Fox, G. George
Gross, Louis D.
Levy, Clifton Harby
Merritt, Max J.

PROGRAM

WEDNESDAY MORNING, APRIL 2

Opening Prayer—Rabbi Alfred G. Moses.
Address of Welcome—Mr. J. Walter Freiberg.
Response—Rabbi Leo M. Franklin.
President's Message—Rabbi Louis Grossman.
Memorial Resolutions:
Joseph Bogen—Rabbi Harry A. Merfeld.
Moses J. Gries—Rabbi William Rosenau.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON

Roll Call.
Reports:
President—Rabbi Louis Grossman.
Recording Secretary—Rabbi Isaac E. Marcuson.
Corresponding Secretary—Rabbi Louis Wolsey.
Treasurer—Rabbi Julian Morgenstern.
Synagog Pension Fund—Rabbi Joseph Stolz.
Solicitation Committee—Rabbi Isaac E. Marcuson.
Finance Committee—Rabbi Louis Wolsey.
Publications Committee—Rabbi Leo M. Franklin.
Church and State—Rabbi David Lefkowitz.
Religious Work in Universities—Rabbi Edward N. Calisch.
Revision of Haggadah—Rabbi Samuel S. Cohen.

WEDNESDAY EVENING

Opening Prayer—Rabbi Joseph Stolz.
Address—Rabbi Louis Grossman.
Centenary Address—Rabbi Henry Berkowitz.
Benediction—Rabbi Simon Peiser.

THURSDAY MORNING, APRIL 3

Opening Prayer—Rabbi Morris Newfield.
Papers on Isaac M. Wise:
Wise's Early Career—Rabbi Gotthard Deutsch.
Wise as Preacher—Rabbi Charles S. Levi.

Wise as Theologian—Rabbi Max. Heller.
Wise as Poet—Rabbi Clifton H. Levy.
Wise the American—Rabbi Edward N. Calisch.
Wise the Journalist—Rabbi Tobias Schanfarber.
Personal Reminiscences—Rabbi Samuel Wolfenstein.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON

Paper:
Were Isaac M. Wise Alive Today—A Program for Judaism in America—Rabbi Julian Morgenstern.
Discussion—Rabbi Leo M. Franklin.
Rabbi Abram Simon.
Visit to the Grave of Isaac M. Wise.
Address—Rabbi William S. Friedman.

FRIDAY MORNING, APRIL 4

Opening Prayer—Rabbi Solomon Foster.
Paper:
The Mission of Israel and its Application to Modern Times—Rabbi Kaufman Kohler.
Discussion—Rabbi Samuel Schulman.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON

Paper:
Religious Education and the Future of American Judaism—Rabbi David Lefkowitz.
Report:
Committee on Religious Education—Rabbi Rudolph Grossman.

FRIDAY EVENING.

Opening Prayer—Rabbi Sol L. Kory.
Reading of Service—Rabbi Louis J. Kopald.
Conference Lecture—Rabbi Jonah B. Wise.
Benediction—Rabbi Martin Zielonka.

SATURDAY MORNING, APRIL 5

Opening Prayer—Rabbi Jacob Tarshish.
Reading of Service—Rabbi Marius Ranson.
Reading from the Torah—Rabbi Samuel S. Cohon.
Conference Sermon—Rabbi Louis Wolsey.
Benediction—Rabbi Abram Hirschberg.

SUNDAY MORNING, APRIL 6

Opening Prayer—Rabbi Abraham S. Anspacher.
Paper:
The Jewish Conception of Justice—Rabbi Max Reichler.
Discussion—Rabbi Abraham Cronbach.
Paper:
The Synagog, the War and the Days Beyond—Rabbi Horace J. Wolf.
Discussion—Dr. Alfred Friedlander.

SUNDAY EVENING

Opening Prayer—Rabbi David Philipson.
Introduction—Rabbi Louis Grossman.
Address:
A League of Nations—Hon. William Howard Taft.
Benediction—Rabbi Jacob H. Kaplan.

MONDAY MORNING, APRIL 7

Opening Prayer—Rabbi Louis Bernstein.
Reports:
Religious Work Among Spanish Jews—Rabbi Gotthard Deutsch.
Holiday Observance—Rabbi Jacob H. Kaplan.
Revision of Haggadah (Continued)—Rabbi Samuel S. Cohon.
Special Committee on Publications Committee Report—Rabbi Morris Newfield.
Contemporaneous History—Rabbi Gotthard Deutsch.
Social Justice—Rabbi Horace J. Wolf.
Responsa—Rabbi Gotthard Deutsch.
Committee on President's Message—Rabbi Henry Berkowitz.
Committee on Resolutions—Rabbi Morris Newfield.
Committee on Thanks—Rabbi Joseph S. Kornfeld.

MONDAY AFTERNOON

Reports:
Committee on Nominations—Rabbi Abram Hirschberg.
Election of Officers.
Closing Prayer—Rabbi Kaufman Kohler.
Adjournment.

PROCEEDINGS

The Thirtieth Annual Convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis was held at Cincinnati, O., April 2 to 7, in honor of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Isaac M. Wise, founder and first President of the Conference.

The opening session was held at the Hebrew Union College Wednesday morning, April 2, at 10 o'clock, with the President, Rabbi Louis Grossman, in the Chair. The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi Alfred G. Moses.

An address of welcome on behalf of the Cincinnati community was delivered by Mr. J. Walter Freiberg.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

Gentlemen: Meeting as you do in this city and to honor the centenary anniversary of the man at whose feet all of you have sat, if not in the body, certainly in the spirit, assembled in the home of the institution which to most of you has been an *alma mater*, should not the greeting be "Welcome Home"? I am sure that this is the feeling of your Cincinnati friends, whom at this time I am privileged to represent, and I hope that feeling is shared by you. Cincinnati takes you to her heart, conscious of being honored by your presence. Does not your visit partake of the nature of a pilgrimage, in order that from the time, the place and the occasion, you may draw inspiration, not only for your deliberations here, but for the work that your holy calling involves?

As I stand in this presence, I seem to hear, as was heard by Moses of old, the voice calling: "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground". It is a place hallowed by the most sacred memories and thoughts; of the man and his co-workers who first brought Union to American Israel; of men who gave their life's work to the spiritual and mental training of future religious leaders and teachers; of young men consecrated to a life of service to God and Humanity; of other young men, who gave themselves to the service of their country in the cause of world freedom; a place lighted by the unconsuming flame of learning, warmed by the undying glow of faith, and over all the spirit of the living truth, the "spirit of wisdom and

understanding, the spirit of counsel and of might, the spirit of knowledge and the fear of God".

In these days of doubt and uncertainty following the war, we hear much of the necessity of reconstruction, but it is not only physical and material reconstruction that is needed. To such as you is given the task of spiritual reconstruction, to rebuild the waste places in the heart, to restore the losses of the soul, to quicken the religious spirit, to revive idealism, and fortify optimism.

In these circumstances, will it be permitted me, a lowly working layman, to offer you the Psalmist's greeting, which no doubt on similar occasions you have heard so often, that to you it may seem trite, *Boruch habo beshem Adonai?*

Your meeting in Cincinnati will come to a close and pass into history, and you will return to your homes to take up your daily tasks and your usual duties. At some time, when you are ministering in your holy office in the house of prayer, will you waft one thought to us in Cincinnati, and mentally complete for us the Psalmist's blessing, *Berachnuchem mibeth Adonai.*

The Vice-President, Rabbi Leo M. Franklin, responded on behalf of the Conference.

RESPONSE TO ADDRESS OF WELCOME

Deeply appreciative as we are of the hearty and cordial words of welcome spoken to us, it would require no formal assurance on your part to the members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis that they are heartily and warmly welcome in this city and particularly in this place. To many of us, to come to Cincinnati means to come home. We are particularly grateful to be the guests of a community in whose midst worked and lived the great master to honor whose memory we are gathered today.

I might, in response to your splendid words of welcome, really breathe a prayer that to us may be given strength that we may build sanely on the foundation laid by him; that to us it may be given to see with his vision and to meet with his courage the new problems that now confront American Israel, and which we must meet, aggressively and faithfully, if American Israel is to be raised to the service to which it has been consecrated; that we may have on our banner the watchword, *Yehi 'Or;* so that we may feel, as he did, the guidance of light and truth to the very end.

In these days of spiritual reconstruction, as you have said, there are mighty and vital problems upon which the American Jew may have a variety of opinions. We trust, however, that we come together in this great city in a spirit of brotherhood; that while none of us need yield a tittle of his honest conviction on the matters that are vital to us all, yet

we shall try to honor the name and memory of the great master, not by ranting and railing against those whose opinions are not ours, not by pouring the vials of our wrath against those that differ from us in interpretation; but rather, that we shall follow the lead of the great genius, and build, if we can, a constructive program, the realization of which will justify liberal Judaism in its own eyes and in the eyes of all the world.

In this spirit, my dear friend, we come to Cincinnati to take up our labors. We come to the city that is dear to us through fine and tender associations. And in the spirit of your greeting, so I say in response that as we are blessed in coming here, so may it come to pass, when we shall have gone to our several homes,—our labors ended,—that we may have left upon this great community some measure of blessing that shall endure to the end.

The annual message (Appendix A) was read by Rabbi Louis Grossman, President of the Conference, and, upon motion, was referred to the Committee on President's Message to be appointed during the convention.

Memorial resolutions in memory of Joseph Bogen were read by Rabbi Harry A. Merfeld (Appendix D) and a memorial address in memory of Moses J. Gries was read by Rabbi William Rosenau (Appendix E). Kaddish was recited by all the members of the Conference in memory of their departed colleagues.

The Conference then adjourned.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON

The Conference re-convened at 2 o'clock. To the roll-call the following 116 members answered present during the course of the convention:

Abels, Moses J.
Anspacher, Abraham S.
August, Garry J.
Baron, Morris
Berkowitz, Henry
Bernstein, Louis
Bloom, I. Mortimer
Bottigheimer, Seymour G.
Brickner, Barnet R.
Brill, Abram
Buttenwieser, Moses
Calisch, Edward N.
Cohen, Simon R.
Cohn, Frederick
Cohon, Samuel S.
Cronbach, Abraham
Currick, Max C.
Deutsch, Gotthard
Englander, Henry
Feinstein, Abraham
Feuerlicht, Morris M.
Fineshriber, William H.

Fink, Joseph
Foster, Solomon
Fox, G. George
Franklin, Leo M.
Freund, Charles J.
Friedman, William S.
Goldberg, David
Goldenson, Samuel H.
Goldenstein, Raphael
Goldstein, Sidney
Gross, Louis D.
Grossman, Louis
Grossman, Rudolph
Gup, Samuel M.
Heller, Max
Hirschberg, Abram
Hirshberg, Samuel
Holzberg, Abraham
Jacobs, Pizer W.
Kaplan, Jacob H.
Kaufman, Max
Klein, Israel
Klein, Jacob
Koch, Samuel
Kohler, Kaufman
Kopald, Louis J.
Kornfeld, Joseph S.
Kory, Sol L.
Latz, Charles B.
Lauterbach, Jacob Z.
Lefkowitz, David
Leipziger, Emil W.
Levi, Charles S.
Levy, Clifton Harby
Levy, Felix A.
Lewinthal, Isidore
Lovitch, Meyer
Macht, Wolfe
Marcuson, Isaac E.
Mark, Jerome
Mayer, Eli
Mayer, Harry H.
Mayerberg, Samuel S.
Mazure, Maurice M.
Mendoza, Louis D.
Merfeld, Harry A.
Merritt, Max J.
Meyer, Martin A.
Miller, Julian H.
Minda, Albert G.
Mischkind, Louis A.
Morgenstern, Julian
Moses, Alfred G.
Moses, Isaac S.
Neumark, David
Newfield, Morris
Peiser, Simon
Philipson, David
Philo, Isidor E.
Ranson, Marius
Rauch, Joseph
Reichler, Max
Rosen, Jerome
Rosenau, William
Rypins, Isaac L.
Sale, Samuel
Salkover, Meyer
Salzman, Marcus
Sanders, Ira E.
Schanfarber, Tobias
Schulman, Samuel
Schwartz, Samuel
Schwarz, Jacob D.
Silver, Abba Hillel
Silver, Maxwell
Simon, Abram
Solomon, George
Stern, Nathan
Stern, Richard M.
Stolz, Joseph
Tarshish, Jacob
Tedesche, Sidney S.
Thurman, Samuel
Turner, Jacob
Waterman, Philip F
Weinstein, Aaron L
Weis, J. Max
Wise, Jonah B.
Wise, Stephen S.
Witt, Louis

Wolf, Horace J.
Wolsey, Louis
Zepin, George
Zielonka, Martin

Messages of greetings were read from Rabbis Henry Barnstein, Henry Cohen, Montague N. A. Cohen, Ephraim Frisch, William H. Greenburg, Abram S. Isaacs, Felix W. Jesselson, Harry Levi, Israel I. Mattuck, Julius Rappaport, Alexander Segel, M. Sessler, M. Spitz, Nathan Stern and Samuel Wolfenstein; from Miss Jeannette Miriam Goldberg, Madame Moise Schwab, Grand Rabbi A. Lévy, Mr. Claude G. Montefiore; and from The National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods; National Council of Jewish Women; National Conference of Jewish Charities; Sisterhood, Temple Emanuel, Spokane, Wash., and Congregation Beth El, Chicago, Ill.

A message of greetings from the Conference was sent to Rabbi Samuel Wolfenstein, who was unable to be present on account of illness.

The President announced the temporary committees of the Conference (page 11).

The Vice-President, Rabbi Franklin, takes the Chair.

Rabbi Louis Grossman read the annual report of the President.

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The current year was one of sustained interest. Owing to the increased demands of the war, the members of the Conference have been preoccupied with patriotic services of various kinds. A large number of our members were active in the field abroad as Chaplains and in Red Cross service. Many of them have been rendering effective aid in the camps and cantonments, and all of them in local work of every kind.

Your President was the orator at the graduation of about two hundred United States Chaplains at the invitation of the Major Chaplain, A. A. Pruden, at the Government School for Chaplains at Camp Taylor, Kentucky.

Our relations with the Jewish Welfare Board have been unchanged since my last report. Your President has attended scrupulously to such duties as came to him and attended the annual meeting as well as the sessions of the Committee on Chaplains and that of the Committee on Religious Activities, held during the course of the year.

At the request of the League to Enforce Peace, your President nomi-

nated representatives of the Conference to attend the series of meetings organized by it in various sections of this country.

In order that the Conference may be enabled to co-operate in all patriotic movements that aim at the conservation and promotion of the national American spirit, your President circularized the membership upon the Bankhead-Smith Education Bill, now pending in the Senate of the United States.

During the course of the year, your President addressed an appeal to the American representatives of the Peace Conference at Paris, and received a highly reassuring reply. And at a recent date, the Commission on its way to Paris to intercede with the Interallied Conference for the complete emancipation of all Jews everywhere was authorized by your President to represent this Conference in its activities to secure a favorable action and the incorporation of an article into covenant of the League of Nations.

A subvention of $25.00 was appropriated for the *Askaloth* publications and $100.00 for the publications of the late A. M. Luncz of Jerusalem. Rabbi I. E. Marcuson was re-appointed Editor of the Yearbook and the contract for the printing of the Yearbook was awarded to the C. J. Krehbiel Co. of Cincinnati.

The First Volume of the Union Prayer-Book has been published in revised form, but on account of the discovery of errors in the text, your President deemed it his duty to order its sale discontinued until the plates are corrected and the volume acceptable in every way. It is hoped that the sale of the book will be resumed in a short while.

On the occasion of the drive inaugurated in the interest of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, your President addressed a letter to the members of the Conference urging that they give their earnest and full support to this important movement. Your President is pleased to be able to report that the members of the Conference entered wholeheartedly into this drive and the result has been such that we may justly be proud of the work accomplished.

Very respectfully submitted,

Louis Grossman, *President.*

The report was received with thanks and adopted.

The report of the Recording Secretary was read by Rabbi Marcuson.

REPORT OF THE RECORDING SECRETARY

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Recording Secretary begs leave to submit the following synopsis of the action of the Executive Board on the various matters brought before it and asks for your approval.

Three meetings of the Executive Board have been held since the last session of the Conference, namely, at Chicago, Ill., July 4, 1918, at Cincinnati, Ohio, October 1-2, 1918, and at Cincinnati, March 31 and April 1, 1919.

It was moved and adopted that the dues of all men in service, whether overseas or in this country, be remitted during the time of such service.

The suggestion of the Chairman of the Publications Committee that he reprint at the request of the Welfare Board, ten thousand copies of the Evening and Morning Service was adopted, and the Chairman was directed to proceed with the publication. These books will be furnished to the Welfare Board at cost.

It was moved that three thousand copies of the Haggadah be printed and that a communication be sent to the Welfare Board informing them that the Conference is ready to furnish them with reprints of the Union Haggadah at cost.

It was ordered that the Publications Committee send a letter to all congregations urging them to buy the revised edition of the Prayer-book, and asking them to notify the Publications Committee what their probable needs will be. It was decided that no allowance shall be made for old books when the revised edition is introduced into a congregation.

It was moved and adopted that no separate reprints be made of the Sabbath evening and morning service or of the Week-day Service at present.

A recommendation was adopted that the volumes of Prayers for Private Devotion which are in stock be given to hospitals and Old Folks' Homes; provided, however, that one thousand copies be retained in stock to fill possible orders.

The recommendation that a Committee be appointed to revise the Haggadah was adopted.

The recommendation that the Secretary notify the Jewish Welfare Board that the Conference is prepared to furnish them with free copies of the Minister's Hand Book for all Welfare workers, was adopted.

It was decided that a letter should be sent to congregations the beginning of May, urging them to lay in a stock of Volume II of the Union Prayer-book, so that these books may be on hand when needed for the fall holy days.

The recommendations of the Committee on Synagog Music that the Board of Governors be asked to secure certain music and phonograph

records for the College library, was referred to our representatives on the Advisory Board of the Hebrew Union College.

The recommendation that the Chairman of the Committee on Synagog Music shall be asked to cooperate with the Program Committee so that the music used at the services conducted during the session of the Conference, shall serve as models for the members, was referred to the Program Committee with favorable recommendation.

It was moved and adopted that the President be authorized to spend a sum not to exceed twenty-five dollars, as a subvention to the *Askaloth* as soon as publications begin to appear.

It was moved and adopted that a subvention not exceeding one hundred dollars be paid to the family of A. M. Luncz to assist in publishing such of his books as they desire to issue and that the money be used in payment of a set of books.

It was moved and adopted that five hundred copies of the Model Constitution be reprinted and that the Corresponding Secretary of the Conference send a copy to the Secretary of each congregation for which one of our members officiates, stating that it was merely for their guidance. The Committee on Model Constitution was discharged with thanks.

It was moved and adopted that a committee of three be appointed to investigate the possibility of helping the Spanish Jews in America by educating some young member of this community so that he would be able to officiate among them, and that the committee be requested to report as soon as possible.

The reprint of one hundred copies of the papers on The Hamburg Prayer-book and Isaac Leeser was ordered.

It was moved and adopted that a letter of appreciation be sent to the men in the service or going into the service, and that a further appeal for volunteers as chaplains be sent to members of the Conference, and that another letter be sent to congregations asking that they grant leave of absence to such of our members who desire to go into service, and that they pay either full or part salary to make good what the member would lose by going into service.

It was moved and adopted that an index by state and city be added to the Yearbook.

It was moved and adopted that 750 copies of the Solicitation Report and 500 copies of membership lists be reprinted from the Yearbook.

It was moved and adopted that Rabbi Marcuson be appointed Recording Secretary in place of Rabbi Abram Hirschberg, who had become a chaplain. Rabbi Marcuson was also appointed Chairman of the Solicitation Committee.

In accordance with the resolution adopted at the last convention of the Conference, the reports of the various committees were submitted to the Executive Board and the following action was taken thereon.

It was moved and carried that all recommendations in the various reports shall be read before the convention for action.

Upon the recommendation of the Publications Committee, 7,500 copies of the Hymnal and 2,000 copies of Volume II of the Union Prayer-book were ordered printed, these to be bound as needed.

It was moved and adopted that all matters relating to publication, such as securing bids and the publishing of manuscripts which have been prepared by committees of the Conference, shall be transacted through the Publications Committee. This shall apply to all publications of the Conference except the Yearbook.

It was moved and adopted that the report of the Special Committee on Spanish Jews be read at the Conference.

The same action was taken in regard to the reports of the Committee on Solicitation of Funds, the Committee on the Revision of the Haggadah and the Committee on Social Justice.

The report of the Committee on Summer School was ordered printed. The same action was taken in regard to the report of the Editor of the Yearbook.

A vote of thanks was extended to Rabbi Marcuson for his efficient work in editing the Yearbook.

The report on Holiday Observance which was signed only by the chairman of the Committee, was referred back for reference to the full Committee and for further consideration.

The report of the Curators of Archives was ordered printed and the recommendations therein were adopted.

It was decided that the reports of the Corresponding Secretary, Finance Committee, and the Committee on Responsa shall be read. Like action was taken on the report of the Tract Commission.

It was moved and adopted that the Responsa report be presented as the individual views of the member giving the answer and not as a majority or minority report of the Committee.

It was moved that the report of the Committee on Synagog Pension Fund be read.

The action of the President in authorizing the Commission, consisting of Congressman Julius Kahn, Messrs. Henry Morgenthau, Oscar Straus, Daniel P. Hays, and Rabbi Isaac Landman, to represent the Conference before the Peace Commission to ask equal rights for the Jews in all lands, wherever they may dwell, was confirmed.

The reports of the Committee on Contemporaneous History, Church and State and Religious Work in Universities, were ordered read before the Conference.

The request of the Committee on Week-day Religious Instruction, that the Committee be discharged, was granted.

Report of the Special Commission on Marriage and Divorce, which was merely a report of progress, was ordered printed.

The report of the Investment Committee was ordered printed in the Yearbook.

The following were elected to membership: Garry J. August, Barnet R. Brickner, Abraham Feinstein, Joseph Fink, Max Kaufman, Albert G. Minda, Meyer Salkover, Ira E. Sanders.

Respectfully submitted,
ISAAC E. MARCUSON, *Recording Secretary.*

The report was received and adopted.

The report of the Corresponding Secretary was read by Rabbi Wolsey.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The work of the Corresponding Secretary's office is of such proportions as to demand from the Conference an earnest consideration of the advisability of maintaining a paid officer in that capacity who could likewise care for the Publications and all the other business of the Conference. It is really unjust upon the part of the Conference to demand so much work from any of our members. Their local obligations are so many and so exacting in these days that it is hardly possible for any of them to do justice to themselves, their congregations, their communities and the Conference at the same time. It is an absolute impossibility for complete efficiency in all departments of the work of an active rabbi who is also Corresponding Secretary of the Conference. Speaking for myself, I may say that I have, during the last year, been negligent of my duties toward my congregation. It is a sacrifice which I think the Conference has no right to ask. Much as I have enjoyed the work of the Corresponding Secretary's office, it will be without regret that I hand it over to my successor.

The expenses of the office amounted to $243.43, as compared with $289.39 for 1917-18. Considering the fact that the Finance Committee authorized a budget of $500 for the office, your Secretary is justified in feeling that the affairs of the office have been conducted economically. Five circular letters were sent to the Executive Board asking for a vote on as many propositions. Included in these proposals was the submission by the President of the question as to whether a letter should be sent to the Peace Conference at Paris asking for equal rights to the Jews all over the world and as to the advisability of sending a commission to Paris. The former proposal was carried and the following letter was sent to the American Commissioners at Paris:

APPEAL TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE

The Central Conference of American Rabbis most respectfully submits the following to you and, through your kind offices, to the members of the Conference of Allied Nations now assembled in Paris:

1. As spokesmen of Justice, organized into the dispensation of Moses, and of the moral worth of human life, as expressed in the idealism of Isaiah, we welcome the epochal assembly of the European and American peoples and offer them our confidence in the performance of their great task.

2. Knowing that the Peace Congress will lay down principles that express the conscience of a re-awakened world and will earnestly and sincerely demand their equitable application, we call attention to the unfortunate condition of the Jews in Russia, Poland, Galicia, Rumania, Palestine, Turkey and Eastern countries. These Jews, though native to the soil, faithful in the performance of their civic duties, and useful to the weal and progress of their respective countries, are debarred from the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship and are not infrequently victimized by oppressions and malicious persecution. We believe that an adjustment of these wrongs will not only redeem the Jews who have been grievously harassed, but also those governments whose re-organization is one of the tasks of the Peace Conference.

3. It is pathetic that we must ask the Peace Conference to draw the Jewish question into consideration in its decision as to the reliability of these nations which are demanding political independence and enrollment in the comity of nations. But no nation is worthy of confidence and the partnership of other nations unless it binds itself to an all-inclusive justice and is responsible to the combined conscience, sincerity and intelligence of the world.

4. We have the utmost faith in the justness of democratic organization. We feel, therefore, that the rehabilitation of Palestine, which is uniquely desired by Jews, should be arranged upon the foundation of freedom. We desire for that land liberty and equality of all in opportunity and civic obligation and respect and protection of the conscience, in accordance with the all-inclusive justice of the civilized world. The Holy Land, in fact, should be exemplary for civilization.

With profound regard,

Yours,

The Central Conference of American Rabbis,

(Signed) LOUIS GROSSMAN, *President*,

(Signed) LOUIS WOLSEY, *Secretary*.

January, 1919.

The following reply was received from the Secretary of the American Peace Commission:

AMERICAN COMMISSION TO NEGOTIATE PEACE.
PARIS, FEBRUARY 7, 1919.

Rabbis Louis Grossman, Pres.,
Louis Wolsey, Secy.,
Central Conference of American Rabbis,
Euclid Avenue Temple, Cleveland, Ohio.

GENTLEMEN: By direction, I beg to acknowledge receipt of the appeal which, in behalf of the Conference of American Rabbis, you addressed to the Representatives of the United States at the Peace Conference on January 10, 1919.

In this appeal the support of the American Commissioners is sought to bring about an adjustment of the wrongs suffered by Jews in Russia, Poland, Galicia, Rumania, Palestine, Turkey and Eastern countries, as well as the rehabilitation of Palestine.

The appeal has had the attentive reading of the American Commissioners, who desire me to inform you that in conformity with the spirit of American institutions it will be their pleasure to use their utmost endeavor to obtain for all peoples equality of treatment in accordance with their determined rights without regard to race or religious beliefs.

I am, gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,
J. C. GREW, *Secretary.*

The proposal to send a commission to Paris was defeated.

The Board was also circularized as to the nomination by the President of Rabbi Isaac E. Marcuson as Editor of the Yearbook. The nomination was unanimously ratified.

One letter was sent to the Secretaries of Congregations asking that they send their rabbis to the convention. The following congregations answered this letter favorably:

Congregation	*Rabbi*	*City*
Temple Israel	Pizer W. Jacobs	Paducah, Ky.
B'nai Israel	Philip F. Waterman	Kalamazoo, Mich.
Anshe Chesed	Louis Wolsey	Cleveland, Ohio
Temple Adath Joseph	Louis Bernstein	St. Joseph, Mo.
Temple Sholom	Abram Hirschberg	Chicago, Ill.
Berith Kodesh	Horace J. Wolf	Rochester, N. Y.
Temple de Hirsch	Samuel Koch	Seattle, Wash.
Children of Israel	William H. Fineshriber	Memphis, Tenn.
B'nai Jeshurun	Solomon Foster	Newark, N. J.
Mt. Zion Hebrew	Isaac L. Rypins	St. Paul, Minn.
Touro	Emil Wm. Leipziger	New Orleans, La.
Aaron	Wolf Macht	Trinidad, Col.
B'nai B'rith	Marcus Salzman	Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

Undoubtedly there are many other congregatons whose names should be included in this report, but these were the only ones that informed the Secretary that such was the case.

The members of the Conference will note that our Directory now contains not alone the names of the members, but also a list by state and city. This addition to our Yearbook is of great value to the Corresponding Secretary's office, and it is my recommendation that it be included in the Directory Reprint hereafter.

By authorization of the President, various members of the Conference were appointed as Representatives to the League of Nations Congresses that were held in Boston, New York, Chicago, Atlanta, St. Louis, St. Paul, Portland, San Francisco, and Salt Lake City.

In conclusion, I wish to extend my hearty thanks to all the officers of the Conference, and more particularly to the President of the Conference, who at all times cooperated with the Secretary and who gave to the problems of my office his earnest attention and sober judgment; and also to the Editor of the Yearbook, whose assistance was of great value.

Respectfully submitted,

LOUIS WOLSEY, *Corresponding Secretary.*

The report was received and adopted.

The report of the Treasurer was read by Rabbi Morgenstern.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: In the absence of Rabbi Abram Simon, Treasurer, I took over the office as Treasurer *pro tem.* on September 3, 1918.

I beg leave to submit herewith the report of the funds for the year June 10, 1918, to March 20, 1919:

SUMMARY OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

Receipts

Cash on hand June 10, 1918	$ 5,160.08	
Dues	1,290.10	
Relief Fund	1,742.50	
Tract Fund	10.00	
Publications	11,739.86	
Interest	322.02	
Refund	17.25	
Redeposit	12.45	
Chaplain Fund transferred	3.02	
Certificate of Deposit cancelled	2,500.00	
	$22,797.28	$22,797.28

Disbursements

General Expense	$ 2,963.87	
Relief	1,850.00	
Tracts	10.00	
Publications	9,360.18	
Liberty Bonds purchased	5,036.78	
Cash on hand	3,576.45	
	$22,797.28	$22,797.28

STATEMENT OF GENERAL FUND

Receipts

Balance on hand June 10, 1918	$ 9,392.62	
One-half dues	645.05	
Interest	32.16	
Refund	17.25	
Redeposit	12.45	
Tract Fund transfer	10.00	
Chaplain	3.02	
Certificate of deposit cancelled	2,500.00	
	$12,612.55	$12,612.55

Disbursements

General Expense	$ 2,963.87	
Tracts	10.00	
Liberty Bonds purchased	5,036.78	
	$ 8,010.65	
Balance on hand March 20, 1919	4,601.90	$ 4,601.90

STATEMENT OF RELIEF FUND

Receipts

Balance on hand June 10, 1918	$11,512.51	
One-half dues	645.05	
Interest	289.86	
Donations	1,742.50	
	$14,189.92	$14,189.92

Disbursements

Pension Fund	$ 1,850.00	
Balance on hand March 20, 1919	12,339.92	$12,339.92

STATEMENT OF PUBLICATION FUND

Publications Receipts	$11,739.86	
Expenses	9,360.18	2,379.68

STATEMENT OF INTEREST FUND

Receipts

Interest on Savings Account	$ 73.47	
Interest Certificate of Deposit	50.00	
Interest on Liberty Bonds	198.55	322.02

Disbursements

Relief Fund	$ 289.86	
General Fund	32.16	322.02

SUMMARY FUNDS

Balance on hand March 20, 1919:		
General Fund	$ 4,601.90	
Publication Fund	2,379.68	
Relief Fund	12,339.92	
Total Balance on hand	$19,321.50	$19,321.50

TOTAL RESOURCES, March 20, 1919

Citizens Savings and Trust Co., Cleveland, O., 4%	$15,000.00
Baltimore Trust Co., Baltimore, Md., 4%	10,000.00
Detroit Trust Co., Detroit, Mich., 4%	2,500.00
Union Trust Co. of Maryland, 4%	8,000.00
Liberty Bonds, U. S. First Issue (converted), 4¼%	1,000.00
" " " Second " " 4¼%	4,000.00
" " " Third " " 4¼%	2,000.00
" " " Fourth " " 4¼%	5,000.00
Peoples Bank and Savings Co., Cincinnati (Savings Account) 3%	1,105.21
Peoples Bank and Savings Co., Cinti. (Commercial Account)	2,471.24
	$51,076.45

The report was received and referred to the Auditing Committee.

The report of the Committee on Solicitation of Funds was read by Rabbi Marcuson.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SOLICITATION OF FUNDS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Solicitation can but make a partial report, due to the fact that it was late in beginning its labors, and they are hardly finished. The Chairman was asked to act on account of the absence of the Recording Secretary on war service, but just as he was about to begin he was told to wait as the Chairman had returned. After a long delay he was asked to proceed and immediately sent out over one thousand letters to congregations, individuals and to the members of the Conference. The result has been most gratifying. Thirty congregations which did not give to the Fund last year are added to the list, while every one that had given but $5 increased it to $10. Many new subscribers are added, and when the full report is in we are sure it will show a substantial increase. Many of the large contributors who have given for years have not yet been heard from, as most of them have contributed later in the year. Another letter should be sent and the present chairman is ready to continue the work for a few weeks should he be so instructed by this convention. Up to this time $1,762.50 have been received. Several congregations contributed, but have not yet sent the money. This is not included in this total.

Expenses to date have been $60.25—$51.50 postage, $8.50 addressing and mailing and $20 printing, leaving a balance of $1,702.25.

Respectfully submitted,

I. E. MARCUSON, *Chairman.*

RELIEF FUND RECEIPTS, 1918-1919

Alabama

Benton—
J. I. Cadden..... $ 5.00

Birmingham—
Congregation Emanuel... $10.00

Arizona

Tucson—
Lionel M. Jacobs..... 8.00

Arkansas

Hot Springs—
Congregation House of Israel 10.00

Pine Bluff—
Congregation Anshe Emeth 10.00

California

Los Angeles—
E. M. Riese..... 10.00
Congregation B'nai B'rith 10.00

San Francisco—
Philip Anspacher..... 5.00
I. W. Hellman..... 20.00
Temple Emanuel..... 10.00
H. Weinstock..... 5.00

Stockton—
Mrs. M. S. Arndt..... 5.00
Temple Israel..... 5.00

Colorado

Denver—
Herman Goldsmith..... 5.00
Dr. Robert Levy..... 5.00

Connecticut

Bridgeport—
Congregation B'nai Israel, 10.00
New Haven—
Jacob J. Newman..... 5.00
Congregation Mishkan Israel 10 00
Isaac M. Ullman..... 5.00

District of Columbia

Washington—
M. Goldenberg..... 5.00
Washington Hebrew Congregation..... 5.00

Florida

Jacksonville—
Congregation Ahavath Chesed..... 10.00

Illinois

Bloomington—
Oscar Mandel..... 5.00
Chicago—
A. G. Becker..... 5.00
Gustav Freund..... 25.00
Elias Greenebaum..... 10.00
Joseph S. Hartman..... 5.00
M. M. Hirsch..... 10.00
Mrs. Rachel Schwab..... 5.00
Sinai Congregation..... 25.00
Temple Sholom..... 15.00
Galesburg—
Jewish Ladies' Aid Society 5.00
Mrs. Lewis Nirdlinger... 5.00
Highland Park—
Mrs. Emanuel Mandel... 5.00
Rock Island—
Max Kohn..... 5.00

Indiana

Gary—
Temple Israel..... 10.00
Indianapolis—
G. A. Efroymson..... 20.00
Kokomo—
J. S. Levi..... 5.00
Lebanon—
Philip Adler..... 5.00
Ligonier—
Congregation Ahavath Sholom..... 10.00
Mt. Vernon—
Mt. Vernon Temple Sisterhood..... 5.00
Congregation Anshe Israel 10.00
Terre Haute—
Temple Israel..... 10.00
Wabash—
Hebrew Ladies' Benevolent Society..... 5.00
Congregation Rodeph Scholem..... 10.00

Iowa

Davenport—
Congregation B'nai Israel, 5.00
Des Moines—
Congregation B'nai Yeshurum 20.00
Mrs. B. Frankel..... 5.00
Keokuk—
J. B. Weil..... 5.00
Sioux City—
Mt. Sinai Congregation.. 5.00
Sisterhood Mt. Sinai Congregation..... 10.00

Kansas

Salina—
Stiefel Bros..... 5.00

Kentucky

Danville—
Pushin Bros..... 5.00
Louisville—
Bernard Bernheim..... 10.00
I. W. Bernheim..... 50.00
Congregation Adath Israel..... 25.00
Baton Rouge—
B'nai Israel Congregation, 10.00
Monroe—
B'nai Israel Congregation, 10.00

Louisiana

New Orleans—
Maurice Stern..... 10.00
Gates of Prayer..... 10.00
Touro Synagog..... 10.00

Maryland

Baltimore—
Wm. Levy..... 5.00
Oheb Sholom Congregation..... 15.00
Baltimore Hebrew Congregation..... 25.00

Massachusetts

Boston—
Temple Israel..... 10.00

Michigan

Bay City—
Hebrew Reform Congregation..... 10.00
Detroit—
Temple Beth El.....100.00
Grand Rapids—
G. A. Wolf..... 5.00
Lansing—
Joseph Gerson..... 10.00
Saginaw—
Max Heavenrich..... 5.00

Minnesota

Minneapolis—
Isaac Weil..... 5.00
St. Paul—
Mt. Zion Hebrew Congregation..... 10.00

Mississippi

Greenville—
Hebrew Union Congregation..... 30.00
Natchez—
Mrs. Clara L. Moses..... 5.00
Congregation B'nai Israel, 10.00
Vicksburg—
Ladies' Hebrew Benevolent Association..... 10.00
Same in memory of Katherine Kory..... 25.00

Missouri

Kansas City—
Congregation B'nai Jehuda..... 25.00
Louisiana—
Jewish Congregation..... 5.00
Temple Adath Joseph.... 25.00

Montana

Chateau—
Julius Hirshberg..... 10.00

Nebraska

Lincoln—
Jewish Ladies' Aid Society..... 10.00
Simon Mayer..... 5.00
Omaha—
Morris Levy..... 5.00

New Jersey

Newark—
B'nai Jeshurun..... 10.00
Max Hertz..... 5.00
Paterson—
B'nai Jeshurun..... 10.00
Trenton—
Har Sinai..... 10.00

New York

Brooklyn—
Temple Israel..... 10.00
Buffalo—
Emanuel Boasberg..... 10.00
Far Rockaway—
Temple Israel..... 10.00
New York—
Mrs. A. Abraham..... 5.00
Mrs. L. Kohn..... 5.00
Max Ottinger..... 5.00
Morris H. Rothschild.... 25.00
Jacob H. Schiff..... 5.00
Temple Emanuel.....200.00
Ludwig Vogelstein..... 50.00
Niagara Falls—
Silberberg Bros..... 25.00
Syracuse—
Society of Concord..... 10.00
Ladies' Auxiliary Society of Concord..... 10.00

North Carolina

Raleigh—
Congregation Beth Or... 10.00

Ohio

Akron—
- Akron Hebrew Congregation..... 10.00
- Maurice Krohngold..... 5.00

Cincinnati—
- Isaac Bloom..... 2.00
- N. Henry Beckman..... 5.00
- Congregation Ahabath Achim..... 10.00
- Congregation B'nai Jeshurun..... 10.00
- Sigmund Hoenig..... 5.00
- Sam Kahn..... 10.00
- Henry Meis..... 2.50
- Nathan Meis..... 5.00
- Charles Shohl..... 10.00
- I. Newton Trager..... 10.00

Cleveland—
- Euclid Avenue Temple... 10.00
- The Temple..... 25.00

Columbus—
- Mrs. Fred Lazarus..... 25.00

Dayton—
- F. J. Ach..... 5.00

Hamilton—
- K. K. B. I..... 10.00
- Felix Kahn..... 5.00

East Liverpool—
- William Erlanger, Jr.... 10.00

Sandusky—
- S. Kaplan..... 15.00

Toledo—
- Collingwood Ave. Temple, 10.00

Youngstown—
- Congregation Rodeph Sholem..... 10.00
- Clarence J. Strauss..... 10.00

Oregon

Altoona—
- Hebrew Reform Congregation..... 10.00

Pennsylvania

Allentown—
- Keneseth Israel..... 10.00

Braddock—
- Braddock Lodge, I. O. B. B..... 10.00

Erie—
- Anshe Chesed Congregation..... 10.00

Lancaster—
- Congregation Shaari Shomayim..... 10.00

Philadelphia—
- Congregation Rodeph Sholom.....100.00
- Sisterhood Rodeph Sholom..... 10.00
- Keneseth Israel..... 25.00
- Albert Wolf..... 10.00
- A. T. Sunstein..... 25.00

Pittsburgh—
- Marcus Rauh..... 25.00
- A. J. Sunstein..... 15.00
- Congregation Rodeph Sholom.....100.00

Scranton—
- Sisterhood Madison Avenue Temple..... 10.00

Rhode Island

Providence—
Mrs. C. Misch..... 5.00
Congregation Sons of Israel and David..... 10.00

South Carolina

Charleston—
Melvin M. Israel..... 10.00
Julius M. Visanka..... 5.00
Manning—
Miss Annie R. Loryea.... 5.00
Mrs. M. L. Barnett..... 10.00

Tennessee

Memphis—
Memphis Lodge, I. O. B. B..... 10.00
Nashville—
Vine Street Temple..... 10.00

Texas

Dallas—
J. L. Hexter..... 5.00
Galveston—
Congregation B'nai Israel, 25.00
E. Lasker..... 50.00
Houston—
Congregation Beth Israel, 25.00
San Antonio—
Oscar Berman..... 5.00

Virginia

Harrisonburg—
Bernard Bloom..... 5.00
Richmond—
L. Z. Morris..... 5.00
Beth Ahabah Congregation 10.00

Washington

Seattle—
J. C. Lang..... 5.00

West Virginia

Wheeling—
M. Sonneborn..... 10.00

Wisconsin

Appleton—
Louis J. Marshall..... 5.00
Milwaukee—
Philip Carpeles..... 5.00
Max Landauer..... 10.00

The report was received and referred to the Auditing Committee.

The report of the Finance Committee was read by Rabbi Wolsey.

REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The budget as reported by the last Finance Committee for the year 1918-19 (see Yearbook, Vol. XXVIII, page 33), is as follows:

Yearbook	$1,850.00
Executive Board	400.00
President's Office	150.00
Treasurer	75.00
Recording Secretary	15.00
Corresponding Secretary	500.00
Sundries	300.00
Committees	450.00
	$3,740.00

As over against this budget, the expenses for the year ending March 20, 1919, are as follows:

Yearbook	$1,489.59
Executive Board	377.61
President's Office	68.34
Treasurer	76.16
Corresponding Secretary	243.43
Sundries	17.97
Committees	268.58
Convention, 1918	437.45
Convention, 1919	67.75
	$3,046.88

You will note that the total is $3,046.88. The fact that this latter sum is $693.12 less than the approved budget may be accounted for by two considerations: (1), the advancing of the date of this convention so as to make our year three months shorter; (2) rigid economy which was consistent, however, with efficiency. In no case were the expenses greater than last year save in the item of the Executive Board meeting. This, of course, may be accounted for by the increase in railroad fares.

Considering the fact that the incoming administration will have a longer year by three months, it is the recommendation of your Finance Committee that the difference between this year's expenses and the estimated budget be added to the budget for the incoming year and that that estimate be the same for next year as for the last year.

Your Committee has not the information at hand to indicate what the receipts of the Conference will be for the coming year, but the conditions that obtained last year will be considerably improved during the next fifteen months. Our revised Volume I, Union Prayer-book, will be on the market, and it is to be hoped that the receipts from the Publications Committee will be considerably augmented so that it seems the Conference will be fully justified in approving the budget.

Respectfully submitted,

LOUIS WOLSEY, *Chairman.*

The report was received and referred to the Auditing Committee.

The Committee on Investments submitted the following report which was ordered printed in the Yearbook:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON INVESTMENTS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Investments begs to report that the total resources of the Conference on March 20, 1919, are as follows:

Citizens Savings and Trust Co., Cleveland, O., 4%	$15,000.00
Baltimore Trust Co., Baltimore, Md., 4%	10,000.00
Detroit Trust Co., Detroit, Mich., 4%	2,500.00
Union Trust Co. of Maryland, 4%	8,000.00
Liberty Bonds, U. S. First Issue (converted), 4¼%	1,000.00
" " " Second " " 4¼%	4,000.00
" " " Third " " 4¼%	2,000.00
" " " Fourth " " 4¼%	5,000.00
Peoples Bank and Savings Co., Cinti. (Savings Account), 3%	1,105.21
Peoples Bank and Savings Co., Cinti. (Commercial Account)	2,471.24
Total	$51,076.45

Your Committee recommends that, when the certificate of deposit in the Citizens' Savings and Trust Company of Cleveland, Ohio, matures in May, 1919, it be cashed in and $13,000.00 worth of United States Liberty Bonds of the Fifth Issue be purchased and the remaining $2,000.00 be put in the Savings Account and be used as needs may rise. This will give the Conference a total of $25,000.00 invested in United States Liberty Bonds.

Respectfully submitted,

LEO M. FRANKLIN,
JULIAN MORGENSTERN,
ABRAM SIMON,
LOUIS WOLSEY.

The Editor of the Yearbook submitted the following report, which was ordered printed:

REPORT OF EDITOR OF THE YEARBOOK

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The Editor of the Yearbook desires at the very outset to thank the Board for the confidence shown in re-electing him to the office of editor and feels that only by making each Yearbook more useful than the preceding can he show the wisdom of retaining an editor for a term of years. For this reason he has added to the volume issued during the past year many improvements which from time to time suggested themselves to him or which members suggested as possible help in the use of the book.

The manuscript was prepared during the summer following the Conference and was submitted to the President and such changes made as the President suggested. The book was set up and in the hands of the Executive Board by the time of the October meeting, and this in spite of the fact that the meeting was held several weeks earlier than usual. The final appearance of the book was delayed by waiting for acceptances to Committee appointments. This was extremely unfortunate, especially this year, on account of the earlier meeting of the Conference.

The Editor wishes to call especial attention to the list of members who responded to war service calls added under instructions from the last Conference. The Editor immediately wrote to the Secretary of the Welfare Board asking that he be furnished with such a list and stating the object for which the list was desired. No answer being received, the Editor wrote to Rabbi Wolsey, asking for such list as may be in his possession, and this list, which had been furnished by the Welfare Board, was carefully revised by comparison with lists which appeared in the public press. When the Yearbook appeared several members wrote asking why their names had been omitted. The Editor makes this explanation in order to show that he did all in his power to get a correct list. For the sake of historic accuracy he is prepared to add to this report such names as were omitted if they can be secured.

Especially would he mention the name of Rabbi Henry Cohen, who rendered fine service, but whose name for some reason was omitted from the list.

Immediately upon being notified of his reappointment as Editor, specifications were sent to a number of houses asking for bids for the publication of the next Yearbook. The contract was awarded to the C. J. Krehbiel Co., the lowest bidder.

The Editor wishes to thank the President of the Conference for his

hearty co-operation and his ready helpfulness in expediting the work of his office.

Respectfully submitted,
I. E. MARCUSON, *Yearbook Editor.*

The report of the Committee on Summer School was ordered printed.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SUMMER SCHOOL

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee begs leave to report that it has not been active during the past year due to the conclusion reached that the opening of the Summer School would be impossible owing to the disturbed condition of the public mind during and immediately after the close of the war.

Respectfully submitted,
HENRY BERKOWITZ, *Chairman.*

The following report of the Tract Commission was read and ordered printed:

REPORT OF THE JOINT TRACT COMMISSION

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The Joint Tract Commission regrets that it is compelled to report that another year of inactivity has passed, so far as the publication of tracts is concerned. It was, however, a year of anything but inactivity on the part of the Commission.

Owing to the war the government put a ban upon the publication of new quarterly literature, such as our tracts will be. For this reason it was impossible to issue tracts, as had been contemplated. However, now that the ban has been raised, our application for second class mailing privileges is being renewed, and it is confidently expected that the regular publication and distribution of tracts will soon begin.

Immediately after the last convention of the Conference negotiations were begun with the Jewish Welfare Board, which body alone was empowered by the United States Government to deal directly with Jewish soldiers and sailors, looking to the preparation and publication of special tracts for Jewish men in the army and navy. Quite a number of tract manuscripts, well suited for this purpose, were secured. Unfortunately, however, the Jewish Welfare Board put various obstacles in the way of this work, sufficient to impede the progress thereof to such an extent that the war was over before the first tract could be published, or there was even any prospect of its being published. The Joint Tract Commission made every effort to meet the decisions and wishes of the Jewish

Welfare Board. It withdrew several tracts, which it had intended to publish, in deference to the objection of the Jewish Welfare Board that these tracts expressed a Reform Jewish point of view and might therefore make propaganda for Reform. All tract manuscripts were carefully prepared, so that they might have not the slightest semblance of a Reform Jewish standpoint, but might appeal to and serve all classes and sects in Judaism equally. Every tract manuscript was submitted to the Jewish Welfare Board for approval. All this, however, did not alter the unfair and altogether negative policy of the Jewish Welfare Board one whit. Manifestly the Jewish Welfare Board was unwilling that the Joint Tract Commission issue tracts for Jewish soldiers and sailors. It is regrettable indeed that such a spirit should animate a representative Jewish body, entrusted with so important and responsible a task, and that these excellent and constructive plans for the spiritual and religious wellbeing of our Jewish boys should be thus frustrated.

The work of preparation and publication of the annual sermon booklet and holiday press notices and collection of subscriptions to the Joint Tract Fund, was ably discharged by the subcommittee to which it was entrusted.

Respectfully submitted,

JULIAN MORGENSTERN, *Chairman*

FEUERLICHT, MORRIS M. LEVY, FELIX A.

HIRSCHBERG, SAMUEL ROSENAU, WILLIAM

The Curators of Archives presented the following report which was ordered printed in the Yearbook:

REPORT OF CURATORS OF ARCHIVES

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee begs to report that the sets of ten of each publication which the Conference had agreed to keep in the archives are not yet complete, though welcome additions to missing sets were made during the year. Particular attention is called to the fact that not a single copy of Volumes X, XI, XII (containing proceedings of 1900-1902) is on file in the archives. Special effort should be made to obtain at least one copy of each of these volumes in order to have a complete file of the Yearbooks on hand. For the completion of the sets of ten copies of each Yearbook the following are still needed:

Issue	*Number of Copies Needed to Complete Set of* 10
Vol. I—1890-1	9
Vol. II—1891-2	9
Vol. III—1892-3	8
Vol. IV—1894-5	3
Vol. V—1895	8
Vol. VI—1896	7

Vol. VII—1897 9
Vol. VIII—1898 9
Vol. IX—1899 9
Vol. X—1900 10
Vol. XI—1901 ..... 10 } Not a single copy on hand.
Vol. XII—1902 10
Vols. XIII, XIV, XV complete.
Vol. XVI—1906 6
Vol. XVII—1907 4
Vol. XVIII—1908 complete.
Vol. XIX—1909 5
Vol. XX—1910 5

Sets of ten of all the subsequent issues are complete.

Received during the past year from

Rabbi Joshua Block Vols. XIV and XX of Yearbooks.

From Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, Vol. XIV.

From Rabbi Emanuel Gerechter Vols. 1890-1; '91-2; '92-93; '95; '98-9; '99; '03; '15 and the remaining issues.

From Rabbi Isaac E. Marcuson, 2 copies of Vol. XV, 3 copies of Vol. XVII, one copy of Vol. XVIII.

From Jewish Welfare Board (at request of Rabbi Leo M. Franklin) ten (10) copies of Soldier's Ritual for Sabbath as arranged by C. C. A. R.; ten (10) copies of Soldier's Ritual for High Holydays as arranged by C. C. A. R.

From Rabbi Marcuson official correspondence between war office and Conference.

From Rabbi Marcuson ten copies of printed manuscript of latest revision of first volume of Union Prayer-book.

Sent out by request during past year to

Rabbi I. Mortimer Bloom all reprints.

To Bloch Publishing Co. 50 copies of "Christian Science", by Rabbi M. Lefkovitz.

To Bloch Publishing Company 25 copies of "Sermons by American Rabbis".

To Library of Garret Bible Institute, Evanston, Ill., Vols. 1896-1901, 1903-4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.

To Iowa State Library, Des Moines, Ia., same as above.

To Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minn., same as above.

To Rabbi Abram Simon the Constitution and By Laws and Articles of Incorporation, the same called for by Internal Revenue Collector.

Your Committee recommends that when a request is received from a first-class library for back issues of the Yearbook, copies be taken from the sets of ten in the archives if such back volumes are on hand, with the understanding, however, that at least three copies of each Yearbook must remain in the archives.

Your Committee further recommends that the sum of $10.00 be paid
II to Edward Glasbrenner, janitor in the Hebrew Union College Library Building for services rendered in connection with care and arrangements of publications in stock and for mailing publications.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY ENGLANDER, *Chairman*,
JACOB Z. LAUTERBACH,
JULIAN MORGENSTERN.

The report of the Committee on Weekday Religious Instruction was ordered printed. The Committee was discharged with thanks.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON WEEKDAY RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Weekly Religious Instruction begs leave to report that there have been no new developments during the past year. The Conference has put itself on record as favoring weekday religious instruction wherever this is possible (Y. B., Vol. XXVI, 85), and as there seems to be no further work for this Committee to do it asks that it be discontinued.

Respectfully submitted,

TOBIAS SCHANFARBER, *Chairman.*

The Committee on Revision of the Union Prayer-Book submitted the following report which was ordered printed in the Yearbook:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON REVISION OF THE UNION PRAYER-BOOK

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The Commitee on Revision of the Union Prayer-book begs leave to report progress in its work.

The Committee has held one meeting since the Chicago Conference took place and practically finished the work of revising the second volume. Were the meeting of the Conference to occur at the usual time this year we are sure that the copy of the Revision of the Second Volume would have been in the hands of the members before the meeting would have taken place. As it is, it is our expectation that the printed manuscript

of the Second Volume will be in the hands of the members ere many weeks shall have passed.

Very truly yours,

DAVID PHILIPSON, *Chairman.*
EDWARD N. CALISCH,
ISAAC E. MARCUSON,
WILLIAM ROSENAU,
SAMUEL SCHULMAN.

The report of the Publications Committee was then presented by Rabbi Franklin, Chairman.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: In accordance with the resolution passed at the last Conference that all Committee reports be submitted to the Executive Board rather than to the Conference as a whole, your Publications Committee respectfully presents this report of its activities, but with the hope that a few of its more important items may in the judgment of your Board be presented to the Conference in session.

The nine months covered by this report have perhaps been as arduous, so far as the work of this Committee is concerned, as any in the history of the Conference. Practically from the day following the adjournment of the Chicago Conference until now, this Committee has had before it vexatious problems of various kinds and of unusual character.

The first great undertaking of your Publications Committee during the current season was the publication for the use of the Jewish Welfare Board, of two volumes; first, an edition of ten thousand copies of Volume II of the Union Prayer-book, especially bound in khaki, and then an edition of ten thousand copies—also khaki bound—of the Evening Service for Sabbath and Week-days. These two volumes, which have called forth the most enthusiastic commendation at the hands of the officers of the Welfare Board and of the men to whom the books have been supplied, were published in a record-breaking period and at a cost that was surprisingly low.

Under arrangements approved by the Executive Board, these books were supplied to the Welfare Board practically at cost, and through the courtesy of our Sales Agents, their usual commission upon sales was waived, a nominal charge for handling alone being made.

We received for these books from the Welfare Board, the sum of $4,655, which being subtracted from our total sales of $11,509.13, leaves a balance representing total sales for the nine months covered by this report, of $6,854.13. A comparison with the business of the previous

twelve months indicates that this is a considerable increase over that period, despite the fact that for the greater part of the year, Volume I of the Prayer-book has been entirely off the market. To this matter, we shall refer a little later on.

In addition to the books published for the Jewish Welfare Board, we have since the last meeting of the Conference, published a new edition of the Haggadah. A careful study of the original cost of producing this book convinced your Committee that to continue selling the book at the old price of 40c per volume would be a losing proposition and therefore, with the approval of the members of the Executive Board, the book has now been placed upon the market at 50c per copy.

Upon the recommendation of the Publications Committee, permission was granted by your Executive Board to the Department of Synagog and School Extension of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, to reprint the main portions of the Haggadah in the Union Bulletin with the hope of popularizing the celebration of the Sedar. We trust that this experiment will be eminently successful and that the results will show in the increased demand for the Haggadah.

Approval of the Executive Board having been obtained, we gave permission to the Committee on the Deaf of the National Council of Jewish Women, to reprint for the use of Congregations of the Deaf, a few pages of our Union Prayer-book, credit for the courtesy being given to the Conference in the Foreword of the book.

Frequent requests have come to your Committee during the year for the furnishing of many of our publications without charge. Every such request has been carefully scanned, and though we believe that we have worked no hardship upon any individual or organization, we have limited our free gifts as far as we reasonably could.

Several serious problems in regard to republication of existing books stare us in the face at the moment. True to the prediction in our last report, we will soon be faced with a shortage of the Union Hymnal unless steps are taken very soon to issue a new edition. In accordance with the suggestion made by this Committee two years ago, a Committee to revise the Hymnal has been appointed and is presently at work. It would be highly desirable that the results of that Committee's work be incorporated in the next edition of the Hymnal. But unless such changes shall be immediately ready, it will be necessary to print an edition from our present plates.

We have at present on hand with our publisher and our sales agent, a total of 822 copies of the book. During the nine months covered by this report, we sold 2,170 copies of the book and this ratio is likely to continue for some time. We dare not take this book off the market even for the shortest time. Your incoming Publications Committee, therefore, should be instructed to issue at once, a new edition of the book, sufficient to meet the probable demands until the revised edition shall be ready.

We have on hand at the present writing, a total of 3,146 copies of Union Prayer-book—Vol. II—in all bindings. We sold last year, a total of 4,713 of these books. We have no definite information at hand upon which to base a possible prediction as to when the revised edition of Volume II will be marketable. If we are to judge by our experience with Volume I, it may not be for some time to come.

It is therefore a question for the Executive Board to decide as to whether we wish to make a reprint of Volume II from our present plates sufficient to meet the probable demand for the fall holy days of 1919, or whether we should simply sell what we have on hand and urge our Revision Committee and those having charge of the production of the revised volume, to hasten their work. Your Publications Committee calls to your attention the fact that it would be eminently desirable to be able to place the revised edition on the market for the coming holy days. If this is not feasible, it is our recommendation that a sufficient number of the books be printed from the present plates to supply the probable need until the new edition is ready.

We turn now to a consideration of the status of Volume I of the Union Prayer-book. After long and arduous delays in completing the revision of Volume I, the plates of the revised edition were turned over to the Publications Committee late in September, 1918. Bids having been secured for the printing of the volume, it was turned over to the Publishers Printing Company of New York, by whom an edition of 17,400 copies was printed at a cost of 9¾c per volume, or a total of $1,696.50. Considering the cost of stock and labor, this was a remarkably low price for the work. The book was advertised and immediately placed upon the market.

Within a very short time of the appearance of the book, several thousand of them had been disposed of and delivered to the purchasers. But almost as soon as the books had been distributed, complaints began to reach the Chairman of the Publications Committee that the book was full of typographical errors of so serious a character that it would reflect very seriously upon the Conference, were the book to go out as published. Most of the errors were in the Hebrew text, though here and there, certain slips had also been made in the English text. A careful examination of the volume indicated that the strictures made upon it were only too well founded, and in consultation with the President and the members of the Executive Board, by whom the step was approved, the further sale of the volume was immediately stopped; the book was withdrawn from the market and recommitted to the Revision Committee for correction.

That was late in November. At first, the Revision Committee held to the view that the mistakes were of a minor character and could be easily corrected in a few of the plates. A careful study of the situation, however, developed the fact that the mistakes were far more numerous and

more general than was revealed by a cursory study of the situation and the result is, that practically every plate of Hebrew text had to be corrected.

Now, in justice to the Publications Committee, though without desire to reflect upon any of our colleagues who may be directly or indirectly responsible for the errors in the book, we wish it distinctly understood by every member of the Conference, that the mistakes were not the mistakes of the Publications Committee. Your Publications Committee's work, so far as Volume I is concerned, began when the completed plates were turned over to it by the Revision Committee.

From the time that the correction of the plates was decided upon, the Chairman of your Publications Committee has been in constant correspondence with the gentlemen having charge of the work. The urgency of restoring the book to the market has been impressed upon these gentlemen day after day and week after week. At the present writing, we are advised that the plates have been corrected; that they are now in the foundry where they are being re-cast; and that they should go forward to the printer in New York in a comparatively short time.

It is of the utmost importance that the revised and corrected volume should be ready for distribution for the coming Passover. Our Sales Agent has several thousand orders on his books now awaiting delivery. Unless these books are ready for distribution in time for Pesach, many of these orders may be cancelled and other congregations, expecting to adopt the Union Prayer-book, may be persuaded to adopt some other ritual. The financial loss would thus not ultimately be the greatest loss entailed by this unfortunate condition. It may be added at this point that the Union Prayer-book has since our last Convention, been adopted as the ritual of eight new congregations and has also been used in camps and cantonments throughout the country.

In view of the situation as here outlined, we recommend that hereafter all manuscripts upon their adoption by the Conference be turned over to the Publications Committee for the securing of bids, and the placing of orders for printing. It will, of course, be understood that where deemed advisable, that Committee might be permitted to call in extra help for proof reading and other matters of detail, but the time has come when responsibility for the work of the Conference must be definitely fixed.

In large measure, the work of the Publications Committee is necessarily that of its Chairman, though he has never failed to consult with every member of the Committee when important decisions have had to be made. However, the business of the Conference is becoming ever larger and more complex and we feel that the time cannot be far off when some paid official will have to be engaged for the supervision and in large part, the conduct of the business affairs of our organization. Perhaps the time has already come when we ought to seriously reconsider a sug-

gestion brought before your Executive Board heretofore, that some person be engaged to act as Editor of the Yearbook; have charge of the publications of the Conference; conduct the campaign for contributions to the Tract and Relief Funds and, in general, have charge of the financial activities of the Conference.

Estimating the present value of stock on hand at $1,869.34, as against the value of stock reported on June 1, 1918, as $5,174.32, our total sales for the nine months covered by this report being $11,509.13 and our total expense $11,088.26, we show a net profit for the period from June 1, 1918, to March 1, 1919, of $420.87. This estimate places the sheets of revised Volume I now on hand and valued at approximately $1,500 as a total loss, but does not take into account the cost of correcting and recasting the plates of Volume I or of reprinting that volume.

Had Volume I not been withdrawn from the market, and had we not entailed the necessarily great loss in correcting the plates and reprinting the volume, we should have been able to show a comfortable profit for the period covered by this report.

Appended to this report will be found a detailed list of books sold and of all moneys that have passed through the hands of this Committee.

We cannot close our report without expressing our particular thanks to our Sales Agent, the Bloch Publishing Company, whose courtesy and consideration to the Conference have been constant. It might be emphasized at this point that our failure to market Volume I has considerably decreased the income of our Sales Agent as well as that of the Conference.

The thanks of the Chairman of the Committee are due and are hereby extended to every member of the Publications Committee who has cooperated with me in the work as well as to the executive officers and to all the members of the Conference.

Respectfully submitted,

LEO M. FRANKLIN, *Chairman.*
EPHRAIM FRISCH,
SAMUEL HIRSHBERG,
ISAAC E. MARCUSON,
MARCUS SALZMAN.

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF BOOKS SOLD

	1916-7	1917-8	1918-9 (10 mos.)
Union Prayer-book I	3,765	818	2,556
Union Prayer-book II	4,198	4,044	4,448
Combined I and II	31	27	
Sabbath Evening and Morning Service	4,226	6,294	1,638
Week Day Service	344	695	200
Union Haggadah	1,189	987	

Prayers for Private Devotion	659	327	114
Union Hymnal (Old Edition)	11		
Union Hymnal (New Edition)	3,175	3,246	2,170
Sermons	20		25
Minister's Hand Book		164	70
Union Prayer-book I (flexible)			249
Union Prayer-book II (flexible)			65
Union Prayer-book II (unbound)			200
Union Prayer-book (Jewish Welfare Board)			10,000
Evening Service (Jewish Welfare Board)			10,000
Yearbook			2

The report was received and the part referring to Vol. I, Union Prayer-Book, was referred to a Special Committee, which submitted the following report:

REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE REPORT

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on that portion of the report of the Publications Committee referred to it begs leave to report as follows:

I. The errors in the edition of the revised Union Prayer-book were due to the misunderstanding by the printer of the orders given to him by the Printing Committee appointed by the Executive Board. These orders were for haste in bringing out the book, which he interpreted to mean to ship the plates to New York without submitting them for final revision, which conflicted with orders given him by other members of the Committee; besides, to the ordinary mistakes which occur in the printing of any book, for which the printer is entirely willing to bear the responsibility and expense of correction.

II. In order to obviate any recurrence of such conflicting orders in the publishing of conference books, we suggest that hereafter the entire and final responsibility for publication shall rest in the Publications Committee. This action, we are informed, has already been taken by the Executive Board and is herewith submitted to the Conference for confirmation.

MORRIS NEWFIELD,
SAMUEL SALE,
MAX C. CURRICK.

The report was adopted.

The report of the Committee on Church and State was presented.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CHURCH AND STATE

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: During the past nine months but few cases that bore upon the principle of the separation of church and state were brought to the attention of the Committee.

One was the report that came from Atlanta, Ga., on the 17th of January, 1919, that the new board of education of that city had ordered the discontinuance of the practice of Bible reading in the schools of that city, denominating it as "compulsory religion" and as being in contravention to the well-defined constitutional policy of the United States which guarantees to all residents the right of their own forms of religious belief or unbelief. Jewish and Catholic citizens had objected to the practice and their protest had brought about this result.

The second case was that of the schools of Peru, Ind., where teachers seemingly under the direction and upon the suggestion of the Superintendent of Schools began more vigorous Bible instruction than the mere reading of a few verses at the beginning of each morning session. The Jewish community, aided by the State representative of our Conference on the Committee on Church and State, and also by the chairman of the Committee, and using the pamphlet, "Why the Bible Should not be Read in the Public Schools", were successful in nipping this attempt at sectarianism in the public schools in the bud.

The third case was that of the State of Louisiana, where the State Superintendent of Schools, T. H. Harris, urged the school boards of the various cities of the State to adopt a six-day school session.

While ostensibly and perhaps sincerely it was intended as a war measure, so as to finish the school course earlier in the year and thus free boys and girls for farm work, there was reason to fear that it would eventually become a permanent law. The School Board of Lake Charles had already voted to adopt the six-day school program, and other cities were following when your Committee's attention was called to the matter. With the very material aid of Rabbi Moses P. Jacobson of Shreveport, La., Rabbi Bloch of Lake Charles, and Rabbi Abram Brill, Chairman of Committee on Civil Rights of I. O. B. B. No. 7, and others, the suggestion of the State Superintendent was not acted upon in the majority of the cities of Louisiana. Alexandria, La., is the only city in the State where the six-day school program has been adopted, and that was because the Jewish community there did not allow any outside assistance to come into the protest. Your Committee still has the matter of this city and its six-day school program under its attention and hopes very soon to get the school board of that city to rescind its action.

A small book called Games for Boys, and printed by the International Committee of the Y. M. C. A., contained a story about a cheating Jew. A communication was sent Mr. John R. Mott, Executive Secretary of the

Y. M. C. A., by Rabbi Marcuson, calling his attention to this story and stating that considering the present relations and the cooperation between Jewish Organizations and the Y. M. C. A., it was extremely unfortunate that such a story should be printed, which would give to young boys an incorrect and unfortunate impression about the Jew.

Mr. Mott replied immediately, granting the justice of the position taken and assuring the writer that it was done inadvertently, and apologizing both for himself in the name of the Y. M. C. A. and for the publishing house, through whose carelessness the story got into the book.

A short time thereafter, Mr. Mott sent the new edition of the book, in which the objectionable part of the story had been entirely eliminated.

In the city of Milwaukee, the reading of the Merchant of Venice had been stopped years ago by order of the Board of Education, but recently a recrudescence of the custom, without the sanction of the Board or the knowledge of the Superintendent, was brought to the attention of the Jewish leaders in the community and the practice is now being vigorously objected to with all indications of success.

The last case was in connection with an act of the Legislature of Arizona, which amended its law that no religion be taught in the schools by the statement, "Provided, however, that the reading of the Bible, without comment, except to teach historical or literary facts, may be permitted in the schools of the State and the study of the Bible outside of the schools may be encouraged by allowing credit not to exceed one-half unit; in High Schools, by examinations in the historical, moral, ethical and literary culture obtained by such outside study. Provided further, such examinations shall permit of no sectarian or denominational construction."

The committee's attention was called to this Bill and its assistance asked very late in the case. A telegram was sent to the President and members of the Legislature by your committee, its pamphlet distributed, but the bill was passed by one vote. Arrangements are being made for arguments before the governor of the state to urge him to veto the bill. Mr. Barnet E. Marks of Phoenix, Arizona, who has been deeply interested in the fight against the bill, assures your committee that such veto will in all probability be secured.

Very respectfully submitted,

DAVID LEFKOWITZ, *Chairman*,
MORRIS M. FEUERLICHT,
JOSEPH S. KORNFELD,
CHARLES S. LEVI,
JOSEPH RAUCH.

The report was received and adopted.

The report of the Committee on Religious Work in Universities was presented by the Chairman, Rabbi Calisch.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RELIGIOUS WORK IN UNIVERSITIES

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Religious Work in Universities begs leave to report as follows:

Though the war is over, the unsettled conditions brought about by it are not. In no phase of our life is this more true than in the universities and colleges throughout the country. This branch of our conference work, though highly important, has suffered, perhaps, more acutely than any other, by reason of these unsettled conditions. A large proportion of the university students, and among them we are proud to say the full quota of Jewish students, were in the service. Many still are. Likewise not a few of the rabbis were also in the service and absent from their accustomed posts of duty. The time since the signing of the armistice has been too short to permit a return to normal pre-war conditions. For these reasons your Committee cannot report an extension of activity in this direction nor any new work taken up. It is happy to report, however, that in the avenues already opened up there has been no cessation of activities except in a very few instances.

Of the pioneer student congregation, established at Ann Arbor at the University of Michigan, Rabbi Franklin reports:

> As to the work at Ann Arbor, I can only give you a brief account at this time, but I may say that every rabbi who has spoken there this year brings to us the most glowing accounts of his experience. Most gratifying are the reports that we receive from the boys who, having graduated from the university and gone out to take up their work in various fields, write of the telling influence that the Student Congregation has had in shaping their thinking.
>
> We can point with pride to the fact that dozens of the boys who have graduated in the last four or five years from the University of Michigan have become leaders in their Jewish communities and have acknowledged the fact that their interest in matters Jewish was first stimulated by the work of the Congregation. Owing to the "flu" ban, we were not able to begin our work quite as early as usual this year, but for the last four months it has gone on steadily and without interruption. We have had splendid cooperation from the rabbis upon whom we have called and who receive no renumeration for their services except their actual expenses.
>
> In addition to the regular weekly services which are held in the beautiful auditorium of the Y. M. C. A., we held as usual one large meeting in the Hill Auditorium. For this service, all the churches in Ann Arbor close their doors. We have a Congregation of several thousand, consisting of students, professors, and towns-people. The preacher this year was Rabbi Krass, and he gave a splendid sermon under the

title, "The Resurrection of Religion". The date of the service was March 16. On this occasion, the Ritual was read by myself as Supervising Rabbi and the music was furnished by the Choir of Temple Beth El, Detroit.

At the regular weekly services, which are held on Sunday evening, the Ritual Service is read by one of the students, the music is furnished by the Congregation itself, and the sermon is preached by the visiting rabbi.

I myself feel that all the time, effort and money spent in the building up of this institution has been well invested. The financial support of the Congregation comes from various sources. The students themselves pay dues of 25c per month during the scholastic year. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations gives us a subsidy of $300.00 and the rest comes from interested individuals. At least once a year the Jewish students of the University are invited to Detroit, where we hold a Student Service, this being followed by various forms of entertainment during the day and evening.

From Boston, with regard to Harvard University, Rabbi Levi reports:

We have not been quite as active in college circles this year as heretofore. Due to the war the enrollment lists were so uncertain that it was difficult for us to keep in touch wih the Jewish students. . . . In spite of this we have a series of functions at the Temple for Jewish college men and women. We invite them also to every function that takes place at the Temple. They are given preference at all our services and for the holy days in the fall are sent special invitations.

At New Haven the activities carried on under the leadership of Rabbi Mann for the students at Yale University take on more of a social complexion. The students are welcomed to all temple services and to social affairs. They are introduced to the young people of New Haven. Aid is given to the Menorah Society in the arrangement of programs and in securing speakers. Counsel and comfort are given to those who are in trouble, physical and spiritual. A study circle is maintained for more intensive work for those who are interested.

Rabbi Bernstein has continued his work with the Student Congregation of the University of Missouri. At the University of Illinois, at Champaign, bi-weekly services for the students are conducted by the local Jewish community. Speakers for these services were secured by Rabbi Felix A. Levy of Chicago.

Your Committee is of the opinion that there is no phase of the Conference activities more important than this. It should command a greater activity and an even wider interest than it does now. It cannot be too often repeated that the college-bred men and women will be the natural leaders of the several communities where they belong, and where they will make their home. That they should be interested in Judaism and in things Jewish, that they should be well-informed about Jewish life and

history, that they should be reverent and loyal, is not merely a consummation devoutly to be wished, it is an urgent necessity. All the members of the Conference are urged to take an interest in this work, to do what can be done in this direction in colleges or universities that may be in their city or vicinity.

Your Committee realizes, however, that rabbis are busy men, who have many duties to perform and have many calls upon their time and energy. It would be an excellent thing if resident rabbis could be maintained at the larger universities at least. It therefore repeats the recommendation made by this Committee in its report of last year that

I. Graduate Rabbis, seeking higher degrees at universities might be induced to act as student rabbis while pursuing their higher studies and that means might be found by which such young men could receive sufficient compensation to enable them to pursue their studies without expense to themselves.

II. Your Committee feels that not only the regular sessions of University attendance, but also the sessions at summer schools and summer normal courses should come under the purview of this Committee. In this connection the work of the Jewish Chautauqua Society is to be heartily commended. Its courses of lectures at summer schools are not, it is true, intended primarily for Jewish students. Yet they have the effect of stimulating the Jewish consciousness of such Jewish young men and women as may be in attendance as well as placing Judaism in a proper and dignified light before the non-Jew. Not only should this work of the Chautauqua Society be recognized with appreciation by the Conference, but its members should be ready to assist it as best they may.

III. The question of a suitable prayer-book for the use of student congregations is one that should be considered. It appears that a goodly proportion of Jewish students come from Orthodox homes, and that the wisdom of the use of the Union Prayer Book is debatable for the reason that it stands for Reform. The Conference has no desire to force its views upon any unwilling to receive them. It has been reported that the booklet now in use at several universities is not altogether satisfactory. Your Committee acknowledges that it has no recommendation to make upon this topic at the present moment. It has mentioned it to bring it to the notice of the members of the Conference with the hope that they may give thought to it.

Your Committee desires to express its appreciation of the work of the Menorah Society and other collegiate student organizations existent in the universities. These organizations, which are carried on for the purposes of study and debate and literary programs, exercise an influence for intellectual and spiritual progress which is greatly to be commended.

The Committee desires also to call the attention of the Department

of Synagog and School Extension to this work of religious activities in universities and to suggest to it the advisability of making use of a portion of its larger funds in university work.

Respectfully submitted,

EDWARD N. CALISCH, *Chairman*, MAX J. MERRITT,
A. BRILL, I. L. RYPINS,
MAX C. CURRICK, JONAH B. WISE,
SAMUEL S. MAYERBERG, MARTIN ZIELONKA.

The report was received and adopted.

The report of the Committee on Revision of the Haggadah was then presented.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON REVISION OF THE HAGGADAH

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The Union Haggadah, as adopted by the Conference in 1908, aimed at enhancing the beautiful home service on Passover eve, by providing a ritual consistent with the spirit of Reform Judaism. The work of editing the Haggadah, of writing several prayers, and of adding new hymns and other valuable matter, was creditably performed, creating thereby a book of great merit. However, the editors of the Union Haggadah must have been at least partly conscious of the fact that their work needed many improvements to render it acceptable to every modern Jewish home, and to endear it to every Jewish heart. Your Committee on Revision has, therefore, construed its task to consist mainly in supplying the Union Haggadah with those traditional elements that lend color to the service and that are in keeping with the sentiments of Reform.

The Seder service was never purely devotional. Its intensely spiritual tone mingled with bursts of good humor, its serious observations on Jewish life and destiny with comments in a lighter vein, its lofty poetry with playful ditties for the entertainment of the children. It took on the form of a historical drama presented at the festal table, with the father and children as leading actors. The children questioned and the father answered their queries. He explained the nature of the service, he preached, he entertained, and he prayed. In the course of the evening, a complete philosophy of Jewish History was revealed, dealing with Israel's eventful past, with its deliverance from physical and from spiritual bondage, and with its great future world-mission. In style, too, the Haggadah typified the Jewish spirit. The rabbinical homily followed dignified narrative, soulful prayer and Psalms mingled with the *'Had Gadya* and the madrigal of numbers, *Ehod Mi Yode'a.*

Your Committee on Revision, while making the Union Haggadah the

basis of its work, retaining its Hebrew and English text wherever possible, has felt justified in going back to the parent source and drawing upon its rich material, in order to retain the symbolism, the devotional spirit, and the playfulness of the old Haggadah. It has added the following traditional selections:

a. The four questions.

b. The passage commencing with מתחלה עובדי עבודה זרה and including והיא שעמדה, the delightful Midrash opening with the words צא ולמד and ending with the enumeration of the ten plagues.

c. Psalm CXIV.

d. The Hebrew text and translation of ויהי בחצי הלילה, כי לו נאה, ואמרתם זבח פסח, and אדיר הוא forming part of the miscelleny.

e. Additions for responsive reading have been made in the דיינו and in Grace after the meal.

The order of the service strictly conforms to the traditional Haggadah. For the sake of uniformity, two rules adopted by the Committee on Revision of the Prayer-book have been followed in the revision of the Haggadah:

a. All biblical quotations are given according to the New Bible translation.

b. The tetragrammaton is rendered "Lord" instead of "Eternal".

Among the musical additions to the Haggadah are numbers 162 and 167 of the Union Hymnal, numbers 90, 91, and 92 of the I. S. Moses' Hymnal—for the use of which the necessary permission should be obtained —and the "Star Spangled Banner".

Realizing the importance of artistic illustrations of the Haggadah, your committee proposes to add several pictures of the masters, like Delaroche's "Moses in the Bulrushes", Ernest Normand's "The Death of Pharaoh's First Born", H. C. Selous' "The Departure of the Israelites" and "The Passage of the Red Sea", Dore's "Exodus", Ensel's "Miriam with Timbrel in Hand" and Michael Angelo's "Moses". Your committee also expects to secure the services of a Jewish artist to supply a new title page and cover design, Hebrew initial letters, and illustrations of the *'Had Gadya.*

In order to keep the book from becoming too bulky, it was deemed advisable to omit several passages from the Miscellany at the end of the book, and to embody the information supplied in the others in the revised introduction to the Haggadah.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL S. COHON, *Chairman,*
SAMUEL N. DEINARD,
MAURICE LEFKOVITS,
CHARLES S. LEVI,
SAMUEL SCHWARTZ.

The report was received and the recommendations taken up seriatim.

Rabbi Charles S. Levi—I feel that we ought to discuss the suggestions offered by the Committee while they are still in this unfinished form so that if they receive the approval of the Conference, the Committee can go ahead with its work assured that it is not doing it all uselessly.

Rabbi Cohon—It was the thought of the Committee that it could get out an Haggadah that would be acceptable to all—orthodox as well as reform. We are sure that the orthodox would welcome the Haggadah if they found in it all the old landmarks. At present the book is in a disjointed and disconnected condition and just when a passage is in the midst of explaining something it comes to an end.

Rabbi Schulman—I agree with Rabbi Cohon that the Haggadah needs revision and that seems to be the opinion of many of the men who have used it—particularly for public Seder. However if the changes suggested could be printed and put into the hands of the members so that they could be carefully considered, I think it would be the better plan.

Rabbi Fox—I agree with the previous speaker that in order to understand what we are adopting we should have the text before us. Could not the Haggadah be gotten out in galley form and sent to the members for consideration and criticism?

Rabbi Cohon—The Committee has laid down certain principles which it intends to follow in its revision. It would supply the Haggadah with those elements which would add color to the service and which have been omitted from the present volume. In order to do this certain additions are needed to the present text and these are indicated in the report.

Rabbi Neumark—I feel that there are two matters which we should settle here. First let us ask whether or not it is the

opinion of the Conference that revision is desired. If that be decided in the affirmative, then we can take up the various suggestions of the committee and decide whether or not they are the changes which will make the Haggadah what we wish it to be. But above all let us have confidence in our committees. After appointing the men best fitted for a particular task, let us give them the opportunity to do the work assigned to them and not let each member try to tell the committee how it should do its work. Of course we want the opinion of all the members and it should be given consideration, but when you appoint a committee it should be given the opportunity to do its work after consulting with those who are best qualified to give them advice and assistance.

Rabbi Jonah B. Wise—As it is generally admitted that the Haggadah in its present form satisfies no one, then the only question involved is, what is the best method which we can pursue to get the Haggadah into a form which will make it of use to the communities? Discussion here on the floor cannot do that; so I feel that the best course to pursue would be to refer this matter back to the Committee with instructions that it complete its work and then send out to the members a draft of the Haggadah which the members can study and consider and then see whether or not it will fill the need which all admit exists.

Rabbi Philipson—The question of the necessity of a revision has never been brought before this Conference. I feel that this is the first question which should be decided. Does the Conference consider a revision advisable?

Rabbi Schulman—I personally find the Union Haggadah unsatisfactory, but when you ask the question, whether it shall be revised, I feel that you cannot revise the old Haggadah. Many people feel in the old Haggadah the natural growth and development of Jewish life. When we use the new Haggadah, we do not feel this. We who know it love it with all its antiquities, but it will be impossible in my opinion to communicate this to any revision. We want a family reunion on Pesach—how can we

give it a Jewish touch—a Jewish atmosphere? Any attempt to revise the book is bound to be a failure, for you are attempting to modify an expression of Jewish life—an expression of a peculiar atmosphere that is passing away. Whether or not it will be possible to produce something that will do for the Seder what we have done for the Friday night—that is, produce an American Jewish Haggadah remains to be seen.

It was moved that further discussion of the Haggadah be postponed until Thursday morning at 10 o'clock. (See Page 68.)

The Conference adjourned.

Wednesday Evening

The members of the Conference assembled in the Plum Street Temple to observe the birthday of Isaac M. Wise.

The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi Joseph Stolz.

An introductory address was delivered by Rabbi Louis Grossman (Appendix F), and the Centenary Address by Rabbi Henry Berkowitz (Appendix G).

The benediction was delivered by Rabbi Simon Peiser.

Thursday Morning, April 3rd

The Conference convened at 10 o'clock with the President, Rabbi Louis Grossman, in the Chair.

The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi Morris Newfield.

It was moved and adopted that the discussion on the report of the Committee on Revision of the Haggadah which had been made the special order of business for the morning be postponed until some future time. The following papers covering the various phases of the many activities of Isaac M. Wise were then read. (Appendix H.)

Wise's Early Career—Rabbi Gotthard Deutsch.

Wise as Preacher—Rabbi Charles S. Levi.

Wise as Theologian—Rabbi Max Heller.

Wise as Poet—Rabbi Clifton Harby Levy.

Wise, the American—Rabbi Edward N. Calisch.

Wise as Journalist—Rabbi Tobias Schanfarber.

Personal Reminiscences—prepared by Rabbi Samuel Wolfenstein—were read by Rabbi Meyer Lovitch.

Mrs. Fannie L. Rauh, for many years associated with Isaac M. Wise as friend and teacher in the Talmud Yelodim Institute, was called upon and spoke briefly of the early days of Wise's activities in Cincinnati. Rabbi Kaufman Kohler and Rabbi Samuel Schulman also gave their impressions drawn from their association with Wise. (Page 221.)

Dr. P. V. N. Myers was introduced and extended greetings to the convention.

The Conference then adjourned.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON

The Conference re-convened at 2 o'clock.

A paper on Were Isaac M. Wise Alive Today—A Program for Judaism in America, was read by Rabbi Julian Morgenstern (Appendix I).

The discussion of the paper was begun by Rabbi Leo M. Franklin (Page 248) and was continued by Rabbi Max Heller, when the hour arrived which had been fixed for a visit to the grave of Isaac M. Wise.

It was moved and adopted that the discussion of the paper be continued for thirty minutes as the first order of business at the opening of the convention Friday morning.

The Conference then proceeded to the grave of Isaac M. Wise, where an address was delivered by Rabbi William S. Friedman (Appendix J) and a wreath was placed upon the grave of the founder of the Conference.

FRIDAY MORNING, APRIL 4TH

The convention was called to order at 10.15 A. M., the Vice-President, Rabbi Franklin, in the Chair.

The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi Solomon Foster.

The minutes of the previous day's proceedings were read and confirmed.

The discussion of Rabbi Morgenstern's paper, which was in-

terrupted by adjournment the preceding afternoon, was resumed by Rabbi Simon (Page 255).

It was moved and carried that further discussion of Rabbi Morgenstern's paper be postponed until after Rabbi Kohler's paper had been read so that the discussion of both papers could be held at the same time.

Rabbi Kohler then read his paper on The Mission of Israel and its Application to Modern Times. (Appendix K.)

The President takes the Chair.

It was moved and adopted that action on the amendment to the constitution be postponed until the next convention. (Yearbook, Vol. XXVIII, 155.)

Rabbi Schulman then opened the discussion of the paper of Rabbi Kohler. (Page 288.)

At the conclusion of Rabbi Schulman's paper, the Conference adjourned.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON

The convention reassembled at 3 P. M. and resumed discussion of the paper of the morning.

It was moved and adopted that the discussion be limited to 45 minutes and each speaker be granted five minutes.

The discussion was participated in by Rabbis Heller, Neumark, Philipson, Jacob H. Kaplan, A. G. Moses, Goldenson, Cohon, Mayerberg, Clifton H. Levy and Morgenstern. (Page 299.)

A paper on Religious Education and the Future of American Judaism was read by Rabbi David Lefkowitz (Appendix L.)

The Vice-President takes the Chair.

The report of the Committee on Religious Education was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Rudolph Grossman.

It was moved and adopted that the report be received and that discussion thereon be postponed until Sunday morning.

FRIDAY EVENING

Divine services for the Sabbath were held at Reading Road Temple.

The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi Sol L. Kory.

The Evening Service for the Sabbath from the Union Prayer-Book was read by Rabbi Louis J. Kopald. The Conference Lecture was delivered by Rabbi Jonah B. Wise. (Appendix B.)

The benediction was pronounced by Rabbi Martin Zielonka.

SATURDAY MORNING, APRIL 5TH

The Conference assembled for divine services at Plum Street Temple.

The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi Jacob Tarshish. The Sabbath morning service from the Union Prayer-Book was read by Rabbi Marius Ranson.

Rabbi Samuel S. Cohon read the weekly portion from the Torah. The Conference sermon was delivered by Rabbi Louis Wolsey. (Appendix C.) The benediction was pronounced by Rabbi Abram Hirschberg.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON

The members of the Conference assembled in the chapel of the Hebrew Union College to witness the ceremony of conferring the degree of Rabbi upon the graduating class of the Hebrew Union College.

SUNDAY MORNING, APRIL 6TH

The Conference convened at 9.50, the President, Rabbi Grossman, in the Chair. The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi Abraham S. Anspacher.

A paper on The Jewish Conception of Justice was read by Rabbi Max Reichler. (Appendix M.) The discussion of the paper was opened by Rabbi Abraham Cronbach and was participated in by Rabbis Clifton H. Levy, Kohler, Schulman, Heller, and Sale. (Page 340.)

A paper on The Synagog, the War and the Days Beyond was read by Rabbi Horace J. Wolf. (Appendix N.) The paper was discussed by Dr. Alfred Friedlander.

The Conference then adjourned.

SUNDAY EVENING

The Conference assembled in Rockdale Avenue Temple to hear an address on A League of Nations, by Hon. William Howard Taft. (Appendix O.)

The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi Philipson. The speaker was introduced by the President of the Conference, Rabbi Louis Grossman. The benediction was delivered by Rabbi Jacob H. Kaplan.

MONDAY MORNING, APRIL 7TH

The Conference assembled at 9.45 A. M., with the Vice-President in the Chair. The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi Louis Bernstein.

The minutes of the previous session were read and confirmed.

For the Committee on Religious Work among Spanish Jews, two reports were read, one by Rabbi Deutsch and one by Rabbi Samuel Koch. Both reports were received and adopted.

COMMITTEE ON RELIGIOUS WORK AMONG SPANISH JEWS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee has studied the question as carefully as it could under peculiarly difficult conditions. The two undersigned members located in Cincinnati have very limited opportunities of entering into contact with Oriental Jews. The very helpful essays on the subject written by Rev. Dr. de Sola Pool of New York and Mr. Hexter of Cincinnati published in "Jewish Charities" do not deal exhaustively with the religious side of the problem. From what the chairman was able to learn through an investigation in the Indianapolis community where an organized congregation exists, and through numerous interviews with the small Cincinnati settlement, it would appear that the only tangible proposition that can be made at present is a provision for the training at the Hebrew Union College of a young oriental Jew who speaks Ladino as his mother tongue and possesses a good Hebrew education, at any rate in the sense of a thorough acquaintance with the Sephardic ritual. Such an experiment would not be too costly, and would in all likelihood prove helpful in the solution of the problem how to bridge over the chasm between the oriental Jew and his American co-religionists and could in any event do no harm.

The undersigned members of the Committee feel that this Committee should be continued and its membership should be selected from cities where there is a better opportunity to consider the problem. Rabbi Koch, the third member of this Committee who has such an opportunity to study the problem in the large oriental community of Seattle, Wash., will present his remarks in a separate report.

Respectfully submitted,

GOTTHARD DEUTSCH, *Chairman*,
JULIAN MORGENSTERN.

REPORT OF RABBI SAMUEL KOCH

THE LEVANTINE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF SEATTLE

Origin:

Though the report describes the group as Levantine, the group speaks of itself as Sephardic. It is the Ladino group, adopting the classification of Dr. de Sola Pool in Jewish Charities, June, 1914. It claims to be the largest and best organized in the United States.

The first settlers in Seattle, Samuel Calvo, and Nissim Alhadeff, came in 1902-3. In 1904 there were ten men in the group, six of these original settlers still live in Seattle. Two returned to Turkey, one lives in Portland, Ore., and one in Havre, Mont. These men recall with amusement the difficulty they had in convincing the Jews to whom they made themselves known of their Jewishness. They could not read the prayer-books handed them, they could not speak Yiddish. Eventually the wearing of the *zizith* helped them out.

Today there are about 850 souls in the community. Most of them came between 1906-11; and in addition to the economic motives, were impelled by the desire to escape military service under unjust conditions. The settlers came originally from the Islands of Rhodes and Harmova, Rodosto, Anatolia, the Gallipolean peninsula and Constantinople. There are 150 married couples, 100 under 21 years of age, and 500 under 18.

Economic Diversity and Status:

The original ten began as peddlers of fruit, but especially of fish. Today all are merchants, three of them are in the wholesale and retail fish business. One in the wholesale fish business employs about twenty men. One is a clothier and one deals in job-lots. In their native country, none handled fish, and all, I am told, were interested in businesses of their own.

Today the Levantine community in Seattle is interested in the following occupations, a surprisingly large number of them conducting their own establishments: fruit, fish, clothing, shoe repairing, tailoring, dye-works, bakeries, boot-blacks, and ship-building.

Institutional Life:

The institutional life is not sharply specialized as yet. The synagogs for example conduct benevolences and so do the educational and social organizations. But the promise is significant. The indications are that the philanthropic and social activities will be frankly under the aegis of the synagog.

There are three congregations, two of them having *Talmud Torahs* and Sisterhoods. The congregations do not differ in ritual or prayer book used, or in religious practice. They represent the association of individuals from the same geographical areas. Thus the *Ezra Besarod* Congregation (*Help in Need*), with a membership of 150, is composed of Jews coming from Rhodes; the *Bichur Cholim*, with a membership of 125 comprises the Jews from Rodosto; the *Ahavath Achim* with 100 members rounds up the Jews from Gallipoli, Constantinople, and Marmora. This cleavage by origin does not permeate the communal life otherwise. The *Bichur Cholim* owns its own synagog, a building bought from a conservative group for $6000. The *Ezra Besarod* built its own synagog at a cost of $21000, and is proud to think that it is the first congregation to build its own synagog and that it has incorporated facilities for the social life. The annual budget of the three congregations is about $4000 and the annual expenditures $2000. It was surprising to learn that not over 45% of the community were Zionists; the Socialists are negligible.

The congregations, especially the *Ezra Besarod*, helps to set men up in business, and aids those who are ill, in addition, aid is given directly to their co-religionists in their home land, for example, $2,000 was sent in 1913, because of the distress caused by an earthquake. $500 has been sent annually since 1915 by *Ezra Besarod* because of the war.

There are two social organizations, the Young Men's Sephardic Association and the Young Men's Prosperity Club. These are organized for social and fraternal purposes, and to aid the group in conforming with the general community ideals and practice to do its part in the communal work. Hospital care is extended to members. The Young Men's Sephardic Association was started because of social friction in the local Bnai Brith Lodge, in which a member stated without being contradicted that it was no honor to have bootblacks as members.

Civic Life:

The Levantine group has been a credit to Seattle Jewry in matters civic. Educationally 250 people are enrolled in the grammar schools, 20 in the high schools, 150 in night schools. 22 men were in service, 6 of these in France, 3 were wounded, and 2 are missing. 45 are citizens, 250 have made declarations. The Young Men's Sephardic Association is about to start a 100% Americanization campaign.

Cooperation:

It is quite evident from the sparse literature on the subject that conditions in Seattle are different from that in some other cities. In Seattle there is a fine feeling between the Levantine Jew and the Russian Jew, and especially between the Levantine Jew and the American Jew. The Levantine Community gladly contributes to the Jewish War Relief Fund—$2500 in 1918—and shows that this should be credited to the American Jewish Relief Committee rather than the Central Relief. When the Synagog was planned, the Congregation *Ezra Besarod* asked the auxiliary of the Temple de Hirsch to conduct its bazaar, and though the organization itself had got beyond the method of raising money in this way, it accepted the invitation and most of the money and most of the work came from this auxiliary. For several years now, the Temple de Hirsch has tried to have a Jewish union Thanksgiving service. Last Thanksgiving the sephardic group alone cooperated, the other congregations declining on the grounds of their orthodoxy. Many of the members spend most of the *Yomin Noraim* at the services of this congregation. One man recently said he was going to join the congregation and send his children to the religious school. The willingness to raise money for the U. A. H. C. was manifested by one of their leaders.

As to what the Conference can do for the Levantine Jew in this country, I fear we are exaggerating the need of service. However, I feel that we should make sure that when these settlers go to a new place, that they get in touch with the right people. The Seattle community is self-respecting, self-reliant, and industrious. Just why there should be three congregations based solely on differences of geographical origin, it is hard to state. The chances are that the antagonisms of leaders had something to do with it. The group is purely American in spirit and an integral part of the community. They are less dogmatic and intolerant than some other Jewish groups. They are dissatisfied, and I am speaking of leaders whom I know, with conditions prevailing in their synagogs, and are sympathetic with reform. They seek fellowship with Reform Jews, and are willing to sink identity for the good of the cause. The suggestion that a capable young man of their choosing be educated at the Hebrew Union College would, I think, be rendering an acceptable and appreciated service, but this leader should be given them as soon as possible, and not nine years hence. Then too, in fairness to the young man in question, one should consider the limited number of congregations that might need his services and the position he would be in, were he dissatisfied with any one of the few communities.

The report of the Committee on Synagog Pension Fund was read and adopted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RELIEF FUND AND SYNAGOG PENSION FUND

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Relief Fund and Synagog Pension Fund begs leave to report as follows for the period covering the past nine months:

Seven pensions amounting altogether to $200.00 per month was paid to three incapacitated members, 3 widows and one orphan of members; and two additional pensions amounting to $40.00 per month were allowed at the pre-Conference meeting of the Executive Board to an incapacitated member and to the widow of a member, making altogether the largest number of annual pensioners in the history of the Conference.

The receipts of the Relief Fund amount to $2679.41 viz:

Dues	$ 645.05
Interest	289.86
Contributions	1742.50

The expenditures amounted to $1850, leaving a surplus of $827.41 to be added to the Relief Fund which now amounts to $37226.42, safely invested and in the keeping of our Treasurer.

Interest amounting to $1420 falls due next month and will be added to the Relief Fund. Additional contributions to the Funds may be confidently expected before July first.

The Synagog Pension Fund founded by the Solomon Fox family and Mr. Jacob H. Schiff now amount to $110,677.98 which is invested in Liberty Bonds and is in the keeping of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

It is the solicitous wish of Mr. Schiff that energetic efforts be made in the near future to increase this Fund that it become available as soon as possible for the protection of the Rabbis of the land. And your Committee again recommends that it is the urgent wish of the C. C. A. R. that a definite plan for raising and applying the Synagog Pension Fund be presented to the next Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations to be held in Boston in May, 1919, and that the incoming Executive Board be instructed to inform the President of the Union, Mr. J. Walter Freiberg, at once of the action of this Conference.

Respectfully submitted,

JOSEPH STOLZ, *Chairman*,
LOUIS BERNSTEIN,
GERSON B. LEVI,
MORRIS NEWFIELD,
TOBIAS SCHANFARBER.

The report of the Committee on Holiday Observance was

read and, upon motion, was referred back to the Committee for further consideration.

The discussion of the report of the Committee on Haggadah, which was interrupted by adjournment on the previous Wednesday, was resumed. (See page 59.) It was moved and adopted that it is the sense of the Conference that the Haggadah be revised.

It was moved and adopted that the Committee proceed and prepare a manuscript stating what changes in Hebrew and English are proposed and what new material is to be added and that this manuscript shall be submitted to the Executive Board and that the Executive Board shall decide upon the best way to bring this manuscript before the members for consideration.

The report of the Committee on Contemporaneous History was read by Rabbi Deutsch.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CONTEMPORANEOUS HISTORY

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: DAVID LUBIN, an American of international reputation whose name is connected with the noblest aspirations for social betterment and for the uplift of the masses, died in Rome, January 1, 1919. Mr. Lubin, as the founder of the International Society for Agriculture, has acquired a high standing among the leaders of sociological progress. He was not only a Jew by birth but acknowledged that he owed the most powerful inspiration for his work to the Hebrew prophets. A noble appreciation of his life in the Tribuna of Rome, January 2d says: *"Nei suoi concetti della vita delle Nazioni io sentii piu vicino ai—profeti d-Israele—i propheti della sua fede-che non agli uomini del nostro tempo."* The members of this Conference will cherish a lasting memory of the inspiration which they received from the address entitled *Pontifex Maximus* which Mr. Lubin delivered before the Conference at Wildwood, N. J., 1916. Your Committee proposes that the sentiment of sincere admiration and proud recollection of Mr. Lubin's advocacy of Israel's ancient ideals be recorded in the minutes of this convention and a copy thereof be conveyed to the members of his family with the expression of our profound sympathy in their bereavement.

The membership of the Central Conference of American Rabbis mourns in common with the whole citizenship of this country the death of

II THEODORE ROOSEVELT, an ex-president of the United States and one of its foremost citizens. This body however, has special reason for commemorating a man who as chief executive of this country obtained a prominent place in Jewish history by his strong protest against the outrages which Rumania committed against her Jews and which was voiced in a note by Secretary Hay on September 17, 1902, and furthermore by the sympathy which he showed in the case of the atrocities committed against the Jews of Russia, especially by the strong words which he spoke to a Committee of representative Jews on June 15, 1903, on the pogrom of Kishineff. We also acknowledge the fact that Theodore Roosevelt was the first president to appoint a Jew as a member of the Cabinet in the person of Oscar S. Straus on December 17, 1906, and especially do we recognize the truly American interpretation which he gave to this act in his address at the banquet of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations on January 18, 1911, when he declared it an action for which he did not claim more credit than the fact that he selected a proper man for the office without inquiring into his religion. We also must remember the fine bit of humor with which Theodore Roosevelt as police commissioner of the city of New York met the attempt of the German antisemite Hermann Ahlwardt who in 1895 tried to transplant this German political agitation to this country. Theodore Roosevelt then detailed a squad of Jewish policemen to protect the man who had come to deny them the right to serve their city and country. The way in which Roosevelt afterwards repeatedly referred to this incident must undoubtedly have a lasting effect in moulding public opinion. It is therefore fitting that the members of this Conference not merely as American citizens but as leaders of the Jewish congregations record its lasting and grateful memory of the merits of Theodore Roosevelt, and that a copy of this action be sent to the family of the deceased.

III The science of religion lost one of its most illustrious representatives through the death of PROF. GEORGE B. FOSTER of the University of Chicago. Prof. Foster was one of the leading lights in the liberal conception of religion. Numerous members of the younger American rabbinate were his disciples, received from him inspiration for their work and were strengthened by him in the belief in the ultimate realization of the prophecy that all nations shall be turned to one pure language to serve God with one consent. Your committee therefore proposes that this Convention go on record expressing its feeling of a severe loss which Liberal Religion sustained in the death of Prof. Foster and that this expression be conveyed to the University of Chicago and to the family of the deceased.

Having received the news of the death of the prominent Jewish historian, publicist and active communal worker, LUDWIG GEIGER, who died in Berlin, February 9, 1919, your Committee deems it proper to re-

iterate its sentiments of appreciation of the work done by the late
IV scholar and refers to the resolution passed in anticipation of his 70th birthday at the Buffalo Convention, July 2, 1917, and published in the Yearbook, volume 27, pp. 108-109. Your Committee suggests that the Executive Board be directed to give to this resolution that publicity which it sees fit.

MORITZ GUEDEMANN for half a century rabbi of Vienna and for even a longer period prominently active in Jewish scientific literature passed away since this Conference met last at the ripe age of four
V score and three. In the death of Guedemann Jewish scientific activities sustained a severe loss. He was among the first to appreciate the importance of devoting attention to the much neglected study of the cultural life of the Jews in the middle ages. He was in addition gifted with the power of fine expression, though never sacrificing scientific thoroughness to mere rhetoric. He was further a strong and fearless advocate of the cause of Judaism against hostile aspersions and unsympathetic disparagement covered by a pseudo-scientific cloak. A representative gathering of ministers and theologians must feel it a privilege to express its great admiration for the work of this nestor of Jewish authors. Your Committee therefore recommends that the sentiment of admiration for Mortiz Guedemann's work be recorded in our Minutes and be given due publicity in a manner which the incoming Executive Committee may see fit.

A figure of towering prominence in Russian Judaism was removed from this world through the death of RABBI HAYYIM SOLOVEICZIK of Brest-Litovsk. Rabbi Hayyim, a lineal descendant and the
VI bearer of the name of Rabbi Hayyim, the founder of the famous yeshibah of Volozhin, represented the traditions of his famous ancestor and of the latter's teacher, Rabbi Elijah Gaon of Wilna. While his principle is antagonistic to the views held by the members of this Conference as to Israel's future, we cannot withhold the tribute of admiration from a conception of Judaism which for centuries has sustained Israel in hours of trial and unparalleled suffering, which insisted on reason as God-given, which raised its voice of warning against the dangers of morbid mysticism and therefore is entitled to recognition as one of the sanest forces in shaping modern Judaism, though it was unantagonistic to its earliest beginnings. Your Committee therefore considers it a duty quite in harmony with the rabbinic ethics which praises the mutual respect of the dissenting schools of Hillel and Shammai to record its profound esteem for the life work of Rabbi Hayyim Soloveiczik.

MARCUS BRANN, successor of Graetz as Professor of History in the Jewish Theological Seminary of Breslau, will on July 9th com-
VII plete the seventieth year of his active life devoted to the continuation of the immortal work of his predecessor. For nearly thirty

years filling the chair held by the greatest Jewish historian, Brann has by his literary activity, painstaking in detail, helpful in conclusions and clear in presentation, proved himself a worthy disciple of his master and has accumulated a vast amount of historic information including some of especial interest to American Jewish History which entitles him to a grateful recognition by a body of Jewish ministers and students of Jewish literature. Your Committee proposes that the expression of this sentiment of grateful recognition and best wishes for Prof. Brann's future activity be recorded in these Minutes and the incoming Executive Board be directed to take proper action in giving publicity to this resolution.

VIII In view of the custom to outline the program of our conventions so as to commemorate important biographies and events by taking notice of centenaries, your Committee proposes to call to the attention of the incoming Executive Board the following centenaries that will occur in 1920:

1. The hundredth anniversary of the death of CHRISTIAN WILLIAM DOHM who died May 17, 1820, and who by his work on the improvement of the Civil Status of the Jews has immortalized his name in Jewish history. This work which contains material for apologetics, still valuable in our days, would give an opportunity for the presentation of a paper on the emancipation movement preceding the French Law of September 27, 1791.

2. The bicentenary of the birth of ELIJAH WILNA, born April 23, 1720, would offer an opportunity for reviewing the work of this remarkable man in its two leading characteristics of strict Talmudism in opposition to both mysticism and secularism.

3. The tercentenary of the death of HAYYIM VITAL who died May 6, 1620, would again furnish an opportunity for presenting that phase of mysticism which developed from a mere esoteric doctrine into a force which fashioned Jewish life and especially the ritual of the Synagog during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Your Committee recommends that these suggestions be referred to the incoming Executive Board for careful consideration.

IX The Union of Orthodox Rabbis of America are preparing the reprint of the WILNA EDITION of the BABYLONIAN TALMUD, copies of which have become exceedingly rare. The Committee appointed by the Orthodox Union for this purpose conveyed to the chairman of your Committee on Contemporaneous History its request that the Liberal wing of the American rabbinate support this enterprise. Your Committee deems this request worthy of the highest commendation and proposes that the incoming Executive Board enter into correspondence on this subject with the Union of Orthodox Rabbis and offer its cooperation in furthering this meritorious project.

A scheme of much larger scope, presented by some American lovers of Hebrew Literature, deserves in the opinion of your Committee the

warmest support of this body. It is proposed since Jerusalem
X has been liberated from the oppressive and slovenly rule of Turkey, to establish in Jerusalem a HEBREW PUBLISHING HOUSE equipped with the best modern devices for printing. This publishing house, in the first instance, shall print books for practical use required in large editions such as prayer-books, bibles and popular rabbinic works and in this way furnish employment for Jewish workingmen and scholars. Furthermore this publishing house would charge itself with the editing of scientifically accurate texts of older rabbinic works, both of the Talmudic and the medieval period, a task which was partly neglected and partly rendered impossible owing to the censorship prevailing in Russia up to 1917. This publishing house would further devote attention to the publication of valuable old works hitherto unpublished and finally give opportunity for raising the standard of Hebrew publishing business for modern works. In this way such an institute would serve both economic and scientific needs. It would not only give employment to typesetters, printers, stereotypers, bookbinders and mechanical trades connected with the publishing business, but it would in addition help the numerous scholars living in Palestine who could be employed as proof-readers and supervising editors and would finally promote the aims of the highest Jewish learning, thus raising the Jewish community of Palestine to the level of some non-Jewish denominations established in the Holy-land. Your Committee proposes that a number of shares at $50.00 each, to be determined by the incoming Executive Board, be subscribed by this organization and that a circular be addressed to all members inviting them to cooperate with this meritorious enterprise. A copy of the circular explaining this enterprise is appended to this report.

The public opinion on the work done by this Conference has up to this date never been sufficiently taken into consideration. Your Committee therefore feels that it would be of great historic importance
XI if a clipping bureau be engaged to collect all press comments on the work of this Conference, especially on the conventions and that these clippings be properly arranged and then preserved by the Curators of the Archives of the Conference.

Your Committee feels that this Conference which is growing from year to year and is now entering into a period when a second generation is largely represented in its gatherings has both the right and
XII the duty to look for some more ambitious tasks than the mere routine work that may come up from year to year. Your Committee proposes:

1. That the Conference again endorse the recommendation of the Committee on Synagog Music (Y. B. Vol. xxviii, 61) that records of traditional synagog music, representing all rituals in all parts of the world be collected and preserved.

2. For many years the want of a proper index to Haggadic literature

has been felt. The attempts made hitherto are entirely insufficient. The quotations are either arranged alphabetically so that the dictionaries become worthless if one does not remember exactly the initial word of the quotation, or they are incomplete. It would seem to the Committee a task, not too difficult, to distribute the work of a topic index extending over the whole Haggadic literature covering both Talmuds and all Midrashim which in time might be supplemented by the ethical, philosophical, homiletical and cabbalistic literature of older periods. Your Committee feels that the task is so great that it should be studied by a special commission. At the same time, however, it should not be treated as an academic scheme but with a view to an early realization.

3. The same difficulty, though not equally great, is often confronted by the student of rabbinic law. The stupendous work of Isaac Lampronti is naturally like the work of other men—capable of improvement. In addition it is now nearly two hundred years old. It would therefore be timely to prepare an index of Halakah and to begin it with an index to the very meritorious but unsystematically arranged work of Hayyim Hezekiah Medini שדה חמד which in its seventeen (17) volumes contains an immense amount of valuable material scattered in various works, many of which are inaccessible in our country. Your Committee recommends that this task also be referred to the consideration of the incoming Executive Committee.

4. The Centenary of the Founder of this Conference while duly celebrated suggests perpetuation of the inspirations received from the addresses on this greatest leader in American Reform Judaism by a literary work of lasting volume. Isaac M. Wise's writings and some of his best thoughts are scattered in numerous periodicals in the records of this Conference and similar publications. It would seem both timely and feasible to collect everything that he has written and publish from time to time a volume that shall contain merely his own works with such notes as are necessary to throw light on occasional remarks referring to persons and conditions of the time, and supplemented by a good index. Your Committee feels certain that the enthusiasm which manifests itself on the occasion of this convention will express itself in a tangible and lasting form by such an enterprise.

Respectfully submitted,

GOTTHARD DEUTSCH, *Chairman.*

The report was received and the recommendations considered seriatim. All recommendations were adopted as amended. Recommendation XII, 2 and 3, was referred to the Executive Board for action.

The report of the Committee on Social Justice was read by Rabbi Wolf and the matter of reprinting the bibliography which

formed the body of the report was referred to the Executive Board with favorable recommendation.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL JUSTICE

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Social Justice has prepared a bibliography of Jewish Problems of the Reconstruction Period, reprints of which it recommends should be printed for distribution among Jewish social and communal workers throughout the country. (Appendix P.)

Respectfully submitted,

HORACE J. WOLF, *Chairman,*
LOUIS BERNSTEIN,
SEYMOUR G. BOTTIGHEIMER,
HENRY M. FISHER,
WILLIAM S. FRIEDMAN,
RAPHAEL GOLDENSTEIN,
CHARLES B. LATZ,
SIMON PEISER,
ISIDOR E. PHILO,
FRANK L. ROSENTHAL,
RICHARD M. STERN.

The various questions submitted to the members of the Committee on Responsa and the answers given by them were read by Rabbi Deutsch.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESPONSA

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Before submitting the three ritual questions which I received and answered during the past year, I beg leave as Chairman of the Committee on Responsa to recur to my incomplete report in last year's proceedings of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, p. 117ff. When sending it in I was at the hospital and had then and there no opportunity of elaborating it and of explaining my telegram concerning the *Nolad Mohul.* I intentionally avoided referring to the Halakic rule of "letting blood" in the telegram in order not to offend the laymen for whom the *Milah* should always have a spiritual and not a mere physiological character. Dr. Deutsch in his remarks leaves the question unanswered whether from our Reform point of view "the old practice of letting blood" צריך להטיף דם ברית should be followed or not.

Here then I would first of all call attention to the fact that the Mosaic law, despite the term "blood circumcision" in Ex. IV 26, does by no means imply that the blood letting is essential, as if the sacrificial blood would constitute the covenant as in Ex. XXIV, 8. In fact the school of Hillel, according to the older version, does not regard it as a Biblical

command, and therefore, would not have it done on a Sabbath day (Shab. 135a), though Rab insists on it (Yer. Yeb. VIII, 8d). It was, considered more essential in the case of proselytes (1), wherefore a special benediction is to be recited at the circumcision of proselytes emphasizing the letting of the blood of the covenant with reference to Jerem. XXXIII, 25 (Shab. 137b; Yoreh Deah 268, 8). Be that as it may, we can neither admit that the case of the *Nolad Mohul** is simply an *Orlah Kebushah* "a suppressed foreskin" as is the view of those who require the letting of blood (Shab. Eodem), nor do we believe in the idea of sacrifice, as at a former Conference we have decided in the case of adult proselytes to do away with the circumcision altogether, laying all the stress on the spiritual idea of the Covenant. I hope that this opinion of mine will be ratified by the members of the Committee and endorsed by the Conference.

Regarding the opinion I expressed that a Christian Scientist who has expressly declared and demonstratively showed that he with his wife wanted to be classed among the adherents of Christianity should not be dignified by a Jewish funeral, I would appeal to the members of the Conference to decide whether they side with me or with the adverse view of Rabbi Julius Rappaport. I also believe in the Talmudic maxim: "We should push away with the left hand and pull back with the right hand" (Sanh. 207b and elsewhere) and would apply it to the Christian Scientist in general who has not left the Jewish fold altogether, but as the one in the case before us wanted to have "no share in the God of Jacob", there is no reason for us to grant him the honor of a Jewish burial.

SHALL A RABBI OFFICIATE AT A MIXED MARRIAGE?

On October 30, 1918, I received the following letter:

"I have been asked by a Jewish gentleman of my congregation to unite him in wedlock with a Gentile. Is it compatible with Judaism for a rabbi to perform such a marriage when the Gentile does not accept the Jewish Religion? And is it in keeping with his position and dignity as rabbi to perform such a marriage when the Gentile does not accept the Jewish faith. Secondly, can a rabbi consistently perform such a marriage in the capacity of a layman without lending it the religious sanction as a rabbi?"

To this I replied: "Unless the person whom a Jew or Jewess is to marry adopts in some form the Jewish religion, after having learned its tenets to know what the steps taken by such a one means, no rabbi who wants to be true to the tradition of Judaism can perform the marriage ceremony, as may be learned from Dr. Mielziner's book, The Jewish Law of Marriage and Divorce, p. 45-54 and from my Jewish Theology,

* Compare Tos. Pes. VII, 13; Babl. Pes. 92b where the Hillelites declare the proselyte to require the seven days' purification before being allowed to partake of the Passover meal, for הפורש מן הערלה כפורש מן הקבר

p. 446, in which the resolutions passed by the Conference of 1909 are referred to. As to the question whether a rabbi can in the capacity of a layman consecrate mixed marriage, let me simply say that neither Judaism nor the State law acknowledges such a marriage as legal".

In a second letter, which stated that the gentleman in question expressed his surprise at the narrowness of Judaism and contemplates going to a Christian minister to be married by him, the writer asked whether there was "no possibility of performing the marriage when the assurance is given that the non-Jew will accept the Jewish faith after the marriage and whether a rabbi can perform the marriage of both non-Jews". To this I answered: "No matter whether said member thinks Judaism is too narrow for him or not, the question is whether Religion or he who represents it stands for a certain principle or not. Certainly the Jewish home, which is the object of marriage, must be conducted according to the Jewish principles. A Christian minister cannot consecrate a Jewish home, nor can a Jewish minister consecrate a Christian home and if man and wife belong to two different religions, it will be a house divided against itself. Without harmony of views in a matter so vital to the future there is no real unity. For those who think that the Jewish home needs no religious consecration the State law provides that they may apply to the civil magistrate to perform the marriage and have the sanction of the State for their union.

RELIGION OF CHILD OF A MIXED MARRIAGE

On January 1, 1919, I received the following שאלת חכם

"A member of my congregation approached me with the following difficulty. His wife was a Christian (Methodist), and a New York rabbi married them. The woman is now pregnant, and the man wanted me to advise him in what faith the expected child is to be raised. His wife never accepted Judaism, though she attends services more regularly than many of my Jewish women, but she goes to her Methodist Church frequently also. Her mother is a strict Methodist; his mother is a Jewess, and each wants the child in her respective faith. I have made inquiry of the New York rabbi who married them, and he assures me that he never married a couple under such circumstances without getting the promise of the alien party to raise the children in the Jewish faith, and to study (by himself or herself) some guide of Jewish instruction. He also tells me that they abjure their old faith in his presence and promise to cast their lot in with our people. He remembers marrying this couple and is certain that he exacted such a promise from this woman. I have not spoken to this couple since I saw the rabbi in question. I will, when I am ready to give my answer, even if she denies or forgot the promise under those circumstances. (This rabbi does not go through the formality of issuing a paper of conversion in the presence of witnesses.)

I feel that I would not be justified in saying that the child should be raised a Jew, if the mother is and intends to remain a Christian. It would be dividing the home, and the child would hardly be Jewish. It would be mockery and hypocrisy. On the other hand, how could I, a Jewish teacher, tell the parents to raise the child a Christian? I feel, if the child is to be raised in our faith, that the mother must cease to be a Christian. If the child is to be raised in the Christian faith, the father cannot remain a Jew without—in later years—taking the consequence of having children who would mock and scoff and deride him. If this is not a certainty, it is, to say the least, a possibility and a probability. Again, then, how can I, or how dare I, advise this man who wants to remain a Jew (or he would not belong to a congregation and be a frequent attendant at services) to become something else? I will, of course, urge the mother to become a Jewess. But if she refuses what shall my advice be? This is my שאלה. I remember the passage in *Kiddushin*:

בנך הבא מישראלית קרוי בנך ואין בנך הבא מן הנכרית קרוי בנך אלא בנה Likewise the passage in Shulchan Aruch *Eben ha Ezer* have 4 a 8 respectively ישראל שבא אל אחת מאלו הילד כמותה and ולך שפחה ועכום כמותן

Do the passages have their force with us?"

To this I replied:

The Talmud (*Kid.* 68b; *Yeb.* 23) and the Shulkan Aruk (ch. 44) you correctly refer to are certainly in force, and consequently the child of a non-Jew has its character determined by the mother. The Christian wife of your member should, therefore, be persuaded as far as possible, especially for the sake of the husband who wants to have a Jewish home, to become a Jewess in order to have her expected child born as a Jew—לידתו בקדושה—The mode of her conversion and adoption into Judaism might in this case be facilitated. Of course, when raised as a Jew the child could afterwards through Confirmation be adopted into the Jewish fold like any proselyte. On the other hand it must be stated that the rabbi who solemnized the marriage of a Jew to a non-Jewess did not act in conformity with the Jewish law, no matter whether she promised to raise her children as Jews or not. Mixed marriages belong before the civil magistrate who is to give them legal sanction. The Jewish religion cannot consecrate a home divided by two different creeds, as you well state.

BURIAL OF A NON-JEW IN A JEWISH CEMETERY

On January 2nd, I was asked for my opinion and at the same time for the Jewish Law on the following case: "About a year ago a brother of a member of the Congregation died in a distant town and was buried on the latter's lot. Afterwards his wife died, and her wish was to be

buried next to her husband. She being a Christian, the Board of Trustees want to do nothing contrary to Jewish law and custom, and therefore, waits for a decision, as the brother-in-law is willing to have her buried on his lot.

I answered as follows: There is no law forbidding a non-Jew to be buried in a Jewish cemetery. While there are congregations whose constitution expressly prohibits non-Jews, respectively non-Jewish wives or husbands, to be buried in their cemeteries, such restrictions were undoubtedly made with the view of preventing mixed marriages in the congregation. At the same time it cannot be denied that in case a Jew, whether a member of the congregation or not, has married a non-Jewess, though contrary to the Jewish law, his legally-married wife, though a non-Jewess, has a just claim to being buried alongside of her husband on the plot owned by him or given him for burial by his brother. As Rabbi of Temple Beth El in New York I have frequently given this decision, and this view has been fully endorsed by my congregation.

In further explanation of this opinion I wish to say that the Talmudic rule based on ancient practice is that the wicked should not be buried next to the righteous, and therefore executed criminals had a special place assigned to them for burial. (Sanh. 46-47a). But it is not likely that a non-Jew should ever have been buried in a Jewish cemetery, unless perhaps in the case of an unrecognized body found unburied a מת מצוה which humanitarian law (to judge from Philo M. II 629), applies to non-Jews as well.[2]

Another point for consideration is that we have no consecrated ground which would exclude non-Jews. Each plot is consecrated—אסור בהנאה—by the body buried there. Hence the owner of the plot ought to have full disposal of the same. It is his family plot.

Respectfully submitted,

K. KOHLER.

OPINIONS OF RABBI DEUTSCH

ON THE QUESTION OF USING PYREX DISHES FOR BOTH MEAT AND MILK

Not knowing what Pyrex is, I must be guided by the information that it is glass and on this presumption give the following information in reply to the question submitted to me.

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[2] It is superfluous to say that the Halachic rule (Gittin, 61, a; Jer. Gittin, V, 47c) קוברין מתי עכו"ם עם מתי ישראל means that the heathen (non-Jewish) dead may be buried simultaneously with the Jewish dead but not alongside of them. The deprecatory view of heathen graves (Yeb. 61b) with reference to Ezek. XXXIV, 31 has of course no bearing on Christians who are regarded as בני נח (see Responsa Isaac ben Shesbeth and others).

The Mosiac law (Exodus, 23, 19, ib. 34, 26 and Deut. 14, 21) says: Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk. This the rabbinical law explains to prohibit the mixture of any milk or milk product with the meat of animals and fowls. (Shulhan Aruk, Yoreh De'ah, 87, 1-3). I am always quoting the latest standard authorities on rabbinical law.

This prohibition is extended to the use of vessels, so that a vessel used for milk must not be used for meat and vice versa. (*Yoreh De'ah*, 93, 1).

"Glass vessels, even when used for permanent preservation of food including hot food, require no purification (if e. g., they were used for boiling milk and subsequently are to be used for boiling meat), for they do not absorb anything of their contents and mere rinsing before using them again is sufficient" (Joseph Caro, *Orah Hayyim*, 451, 27). The glossarist Moses Isserls adds: "Some authorities take a rigorous view and declare that even washing the vessels in hot water does not help. This is the practice in Germany and Poland". The glossarist David Halevi, author of *Ture Zahab* adds: "This rigorous view is based on the assumption that glass ware is equal to earthen ware. If, however, the glass dishes (usually used for milk or meat) had been accidentally used (for the other kind), there is certainly no prohibition". (ib. 30.)

"Earthen vessels used for the permanent preservation of prohibited wine are according to some authorities not to be used (for kosher food), but all authorities are unanimous in the opinion that this prohibition does not include glass vessels" (*Yoreh De'ah*, 135, 8). The glossarists Shabbetai Kohen (*Shak*, ib. 23) and David Halevi (*Ture Zahab*, ib. 11) give as reason for this exception that glass vessels have a smooth surface and do not absorb anything of their contents.

These quotations should suffice to prove that pyrex, presuming that it is glassware, may be used for both milk and meat dishes and would therefore mean both a convenience and a saving in kosher households. Inspection of the article would seem necessary to convince the man who gives the decision that pyrex is what it is represented to be.

Ritualistic questions are submitted to an authorized rabbi. There is, however, no guarantee that a decision, given by one rabbi would be recognized by others, for Judaism has no ecclesiastic authority in an hierarchical sense. New York had last year a heated controversy between two sections of orthodox rabbis, led by R. Wolf Margolies on one hand and Moses Zebulon Margolies on the other. It may be presumed, however, if a few recognized authorities would subscribe to this opinion, it would be respected by the vast majority of observant Jews. It ought to be translated into Hebrew and Yiddish, for a Hebrew indorsement (*Heksher*) put on the goods would to most people be a sufficient guarantee.

GOTTHARD DEUTSCH.

THE BURIAL OF A NON-JEW IN A JEWISH CEMETERY

The following question was submitted to me by a southern congregation.

"About a year ago a brother of one of the members of our congregation died in a distant town, and his remains were brought to this city and buried on the lot of this member of our congregation. The wife of the deceased has died and it was her wish that her remains be buried next to her husband. She being a Christian, the Board of Trustees want to do nothing contrary to Jewish law and custom and desire higher authority. The member of our congregation who owns the lot is willing to bury the Christian wife of his brother on his lot. I want to make it plain that the brother of the member of our congregation who is now buried on the lot, was not a member of our congregation and did not own a lot in our cemetery. In addition to your opinion, we would like to have the Jewish law on the subject also".

The following is my reply:

My opinion is of no consequence in the matter. Nor is it germane to the question proposed whether the man whose Christian wife is to be buried in the Jewish cemetery was a member of the congregation or not. Such a question is to be decided on the ground of financial considerations and congregational policy and would apply to Jews and non-Jews alike. The only point under consideration is, what Jewish law and congregational practice, the latter as precedent, furnish as arguments.

Bible:

The most ancient records prove that it was a sacred duty for the Jew to be buried with members of his family in a burial ground exclusively owned by him and reserved exclusively for the members of his family. Abraham buys the cave of Machpelah, declining the offer of the Hethites to use "the choicest of their sepulchres" for the burial of Sarah, because he wishes to have a burial place of his own as unlimited holding (*Aḥuzat Keber*) (Gen. 23, 4, 6, 20). Jacob solemnly adjures his son Joseph to go to considerable trouble and transport his body to Canaan that he may sleep with his fathers (Gen. 47,30). It is certainly told with designed emphasis that this was Jacob's dying wish (ib. 49, 30-33). The same wish is expressed by Joseph who asks the children of Israel to promise him this favor under a solemn oath (ib. 50, 25) which, as is twice emphatically related, was carried out. (Ex. 13, 19, Joshua, 24, 32) On this occasion we are also told that Joshua and the high priest Eleazar were buried "on their inheritance" which is synonymous with Abraham's *Aḥuzat Keber* (Joshua, 24, 30, 33).

It was evidently the custom of wealthy and prominent men to provide during their life time an artistically constructed burial place, a mausoleum, usually hewn in the rocks, as we learn from the denunciation by Isaiah of Shebna, the king's chancellor, who "has hewed out a sepulchre

on high" (Is. 22, 16). The same is told in the New Testament (Matthew, 27, 60) of Joseph of Arimathea in whose tomb Jesus was buried. Existing monuments in Palestine bear testimony to the correctness of these reports. In keeping with these reports of the sacredness of family tombs is the consolation given by Jeremiah (34, 5) to the exiled and blinded king Zedekiah that he shall be honored by the ceremonies like those performed in honor of "his fathers the former kings" in their crematories, an obscure passage which, however, must refer to the practice of burning valuable articles in the possession of the deceased (*Abodah Zarah*, 11a). All these passages prove that in biblical times the burial places were in the private possession of the families, destined for the members of the family exclusively, and it is impossible to decide whether non-Jewish members of the family were also laid there to rest. At any rate the community as such could have had no power in the matter.

Talmud:

The only passage found in the Talmud which has a bearing on the subject (Babli, *Gittin*, 61a) reads, We shall bury the dead of the non-Jews with the dead of the Jews for the sake of peace (meaning probably for the sake of maintaining amicable relations with our neighbors, but it may also mean, on the ground of humanitarian principles, see: *Yebamot*, 15a). The question is whether the word עם translated as "with" means "just as" or "by the side of". Rashi the classic commentator of the Talmud decides in favor of the former view, and he is supported by another passage (*Sanhedrin*, 47a): We shall not bury a wicked man by the side of a righteous man, in which case the word אצל is used. Rashi also says: we shall bury the non-Jews not in the cemetery of the Jews but we shall attend to their burial when bodies of non-Jews are found slain by the side of the bodies of Jews. The view of Rashi is supported by the fact that in parallel texts (Tosefta, *Gittin*, 5, 5, ed. Zuckermandel, p. 328, Yerushalmi *Gittin*, 47c) the law merely reads, We shall bury the bodies of non-Jews, omitting the dubious phrase: "with those of Jews". In this form the law has been recorded in the codes (*Yoreh De'ah*, 367, I). R. Nissim of Gerona (14th Cent.) opposes Rashi in one respect extending the duty to assist in the burial of non-Jews always, and not restricting it to a case when Jews and non-Jews are found slain side by side, but even he decides against burying them in a Jewish cemetery. (R. Nissim, novellas, Gittin, p. 34d, ed. Prague, 1810, see also Bet Joseph, *Yoreh De'ah*, 367). The same view may be supposed to be that of Tosafot (*Hullin*, 7b), though not expressly stated. The attempt of Rabbi M. Loewy of Temesvar to read such a permission into Maimonides' slight mention of the duty to take part in the burial of non-Jews (*Hilkot Ebel*, 14, 2, *Hilkot Melakim*, 10, 2) is entirely arbitrary (Neuzeit, 1884, p. 43). The only legal author who clearly permits the

burial of non-Jews in a Jewish cemetery, though in a separate plot, is Joel Saerkes (ב"ח, *Yoreh De'ah*, 151). This author who died as rabbi of Cracow, 1640, witnessed the frequent butcheries in Poland, caused by rebellious and foreign invasions, and rules probably from actual occurrences when bodies of murdered Jews and non-Jews were found heaped up in the same place. The following case is only remotely connected with the question, but deserves a place here, because Moses Sofer who rendered the decision is a relativly modern author (1762-1839) of high standing in the orthodox world. The case submitted to him was that of a Jewish soldier who died in a military hospital and upon whose body a crucifix was found so that it seemed almost certain that he had at one time become a convert to Christianity. Moses Sofer decides nevertheless that the body should be buried in the Jewish cemetery (Hatam Sofer, *Yoreh De'ah*, 341).

Precedents:

A Venetian Christian who died in Avlona of the plague, 1515, requested on his death bed that he be buried in a Jewish cemetery, because he feared that being a Roman Catholic, the Greek Catholic Christians of the place would throw his body to the beasts. His request was granted (*Vessillo Israelitico*, 1888, p. 190-191). Stephen de Werbocz, ex-Palatine of Hungary who died in Buda (Ofen) in 1541 was buried in the Jewish cemetery. The reason is not clear but was probably due to his conversion to Islam (Busch: *Jahrbuch*, V, 83). Clearer is the case of a Mohammedan who died in Czernowitz, Bukowina in 1869. He was buried in the Jewish cemetery because neither the Greek nor the Roman Catholics would bury him in their cemeteries. (*Am. Isr.*, June 11, 1908). Similar was the case of an unattached Catholic who was buried in the Jewish cemetery of Prague which is governed by the strictly conservative *Ḥebra Kaddisha* of this historic community. The man had left the Catholic church because this was the only way in which the Austrian law allowed him to marry a Jewess. (*Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, 1871, p. 720). The congregation of Orgjejew, Besarabia, granted to a Mohammedan a burial in its cemetery, but yielded to the rabbi who vetoed its resolution insofar that the body was buried beyond the fence. (Hasman, *Hebrew Daily*, 1909, No. 208). Neil Primrose, the son of Lord Roseberry and of Hannah de Rothschild, who was killed in action in Palestine as a member of the Jewish legion, was buried in the Jewish cemetery of Ramleh, although he was a professing Christian (*Jewish Courier*, Chicago, Dec. 21, 1917). Similar is the case of Moses S. Wile, the son of a Jewish father and a Christian mother and raised as a Christian who was buried in a Jewish cemetery. (*Am. Isr.*, March 4, 1904). According to Jewish law Neil Primrose would be regarded as a Jew and Moses Wile as a non-Jew. The congregation of Wittenburg, Mecklenburg, buried a Protestant in its cemetery whose family objected to the pastor's ruling

who ordered the corpse buried in a corner of the cemetery and refused to sell to the widow an adjoining grave (*Oest. Wochenschrift*, 1913, p. 504). A woman in Darmstadt who had converted to Christianity but had expressed the wish to be buried in a Jewish cemetery was granted this desire on the ground that her wish signified a return to Judaism (*Allg. Zeitg. d. Judentums*, 1889, p. 361). A Jew of Ancona who had declared himself a Unitarian, though he never formally affiliated with this church was refused burial in the Jewish cemetery of that city (*Educatore Israelita* 20, 145-146, 1872). The orthodox chief rabbi of Amsterdam, Joseph H. Duenner, refused to bury the child of a mixed marriage in the Jewish cemetery, although the mother, by birth a Christian, had converted to Judaism, and the child was circumcised. Rabbi Duenner did not recognize the conversion performed by Rabbi Rahmer of Magdeburg, a liberal, as valid and therefore considered the child as born of a Christian mother, a non-Jew (*Der Israelit*, 1883, p. 322). The rabbinate of London rendered the same decision in an identical case (*Allg. Zeitg. des Judentums*, 1884, p. 302). The congregation of Hamburg took in a similar case a lenient view in spite of the strong protest of the orthodox element (ib. 1865, p. 289). Rabbi A. Da Fano of Milan adopted a compromise, allowing such a burial but insisting that the corpse be circumcised (*Vessillo Isr.*, 1892, p. 384).

Similar cases in America are reported from Memphis, Tenn., where such a child after some opposition was granted burial in the Jewish cemetery (*Am. Isr.*, Nov. 3, 1876), while in Grand Rapids, Mich., the rabbi refused burial. I. M. Wise decided against this attitude, declaring that while the Talmud does not consider the child a Jew, he is so in our eyes because we consider civil marriage as legal. (*ib.* Sep. 4, 1874). In neither of the last two cases is it stated whether the child was a male and whether circumcision had been performed. Rabbi B. Schick of Temesvar, Hungary, rendered a negative decision in a similar case and wrote a pamphlet concerning it. (B. Schick: *Notgedrungene Bemerkungen zum Jahresberichte der Temesvarer Chewra Kadischa*, 1903, Temesvar, 1904, see: *Der Israelit*, 1904, p. 832).

Jews Buried in Non-Jewish Cemeteries:

The completeness of the argument demands a discussion of the opposite case, namely, the burial of Jews in non-Jewish cemeteries. Sentiment and practice are usually against it. In Rendsburg-Schleswig, the Jewish congregation protested against it (*Allg. Zeitg. des Judentums*, 1872, p. 49), in Nuremberg which had in those days no Jewish cemetery the pastor protested (Ziemlich: *Geschichte der Juden in Nuernberg*, p. 8). In M. Csaete, Hungary, the Jews, though forming an orthodox congregation, use a cemetery in common with the Christians (*Der Israelit*, 1912, No. 8). Marcus Levy, mayor of Aurora, Ind., was buried in the local cemetery, and Isaac M. Wise approved of it indirectly, lecturing

in Aurora for the benefit of a monument to be erected to the deceased (*Israelite*, Feb. 20, 1873). The "Oberrat" of Baden, on the other hand, refused the offer of the city to have the Jewish soldiers, killed in the war, buried in a special pot of the communal cemetery together with their Christian comrades (*Allg. Zeitg. des Judentums*, 1914, No. 41). Rev. Isaac Leeser of Philadelphia strongly condemned the action of Rev. Jacob de Solla who had officiated at the funeral of a Jew in a non-denominational cemetery, and obtained an opinion to this effect from chief rabbis Abraham B. Piperno of Leghorn and Nathan Adler of London. He admitted, however, that he had been guilty of the same offense before, giving as an excuse that it was done before a religious authority had rendered a negative decision (*Occident*, XXI, 181-187, 266-272, 1863).

Cases Analogous to the Proposed Question:

Rabbi B. Illowy gave a favorable opinion in the case of a woman born a Christian who had married a Jew on the ground that she had converted, when orthodox extremists in Nashville, Tenn., objected even to this (*Occident*, XIV, 84-88, 1856). Rabbi Samfield of Memphis, Tenn., rendered a decision favorable to the burial of non-Jewish members of a family in Jewish family lots (*Am. Isr.*, Feb. 5, 1875). The orthodox rabbi of Breslau, F. Rosenthal, once permitted the remains of a cremated corpse of the Christian wife of a Jew to be buried with her Jewish husband, because these remains were not a corpse (*Jued. Presse*, 1911, p. 465). He was still more liberal when he permitted a baptized Jew to be buried in this cemetery upon the request of his wife who had remained a Jewess (*Deutsche Isr. Zeitg.*, 1913, No. 40). The congregations of Berlin (1883), of Leipsic (1884), and of Dresden (1897) passed resolutions permitting the non-Jewish parties in a mixed marriage to be buried in the Jewish cemetery (*Allg. Z. d. J.*, 1884, p. 10, 1885, p. 319, 1897, No. 26). The rabbinate of Leghorn rendered an adverse opinion which, however, was not respected by the congregation (*Vessillo Isr.*, 1892, 321-322).

Conclusion:

I. The Bible gives no clear evidence by which the question can be decided, though, speaking of family graves, its testimony would be rather negative.

II. The Talmudic writings do not decide the case clearly, but glossarists and codifiers derive from the Talmud a negative view with the exception of one authority which limits the burial of non-Jews in Jewish cemeteries to emergency cases, such as battles and epidemics.

III. The practice in modern congregations is divided on this point as on others, the orthodox congregations taking a negative, the liberal congregations an affirmative view.

IV. The question of congregational policy, as the danger of encouraging intermarriage or religious indifference has to be decided on the ground of local conditions and does not lie within the line of theological argument. GOTTHARD DEUTSCH.

CAN A CONGREGATION SELL ITS SYNAGOG?

Question: An orthodox congregation has a synagog in the downtown district of the city. A considerable number of its members, representing the wealthiest element, removed from the neighborhood to a more desirable part of the town, and finding it impossible to attend the old synagog on account of the great distance, propose to sell it and to use the proceeds in the erection of another synagog in their new neighborhood. The members who remained in the old neighborhood object to the sale. The attorney, representing the advocates of the sale, wishes to obtain information on the Jewish law in the case.

Reply:

The constitutional law of a congregation is chiefly defined by local practice, and the legal authorities differ often on these questions.

Shulḥan Aruk, the authoritative law book (*Orah Hayyim*, 153, 7) says: A synagog may be sold by the seven trustees (the usual number) of the congregation in a convention of the members, which can only mean that the latter have but a consulting vote.

All financial affairs of the congregation, as assessment and expenditure, are arranged through a vote in which the membership, paying more than half of the taxes decides. (*Shulḥan Aruk, Hoshen Mishpat*, 163, 3).

Solomon Ibn Adret (*Responsa*, No. 1091) declares that a majority of the membership regardless of the tax payment is decisive.

Asher ben Jehiel (*Responsa*, No. 7, 3) is for decision on the ground of tax payment.

The usual practice of the congregations is that both factors are to be taken into consideration, e. g., if a congregation has 100 members a vote of 51 is necessary, provided these 51 pay more than 50% of the congregational taxes. Mendel Krochmal (*Resp.* No. 1-2) declares that in personal questions, such as the election of a paid official, the majority of the taxpayers is always necessary, so that in a case which is submitted to him, where of a memberhip of fifty, five men pay more than half of the congregational assessment, their veto cannot prevent the election of a congregational official.

Conclusions:

If a majority of members, whose dues represent more than half of the income of the congregation raised by assessment, decide upon the sale of the synagog, their action is legal. This is the rigorous view, but authors of considerable authority declare that a vote of the trustees, as long the membership is notified, is sufficient. G. DEUTSCH.

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT*

I.

THE CASE OF NOLAD MOHUL

Supplementing the brief remarks on the subject in Yearbook, XXVIII, p. 117, which because of the short time allowed for a reply, I had no time to elaborate, I submit the following opinion:

The Bible, neither directly nor indirectly, furnishes any material for the consideration of the subject. The Talmud (*Sabbath*, 135a) says: If a child was born without a prepuce, the Sabbath must not be defiled on his account, for the school of Shammai teaches that from a child born without prepuce blood of the covenant shall be drawn, while the school of Hillel teaches it is not necessary. In the course of the argument which is too intricate to be translated *verbatim*, some authorities, like Rab, are in favor of the Hillelite view, while others like Rabbah and Rab Joseph take the opposite view.

It may be stated in this connection that the term "School of Hillel" and "School of Shammai" cannot always mean the immediate disciples of Hillel and Shammai. Indeed the Mishnah does not contain this controversy nor any reference to the case at all. Tosefta (*Sabbath*, 159, ed. Zuckermandl, p. 133), cites Simon ben Eleazar as requiring the letting of blood, and merely refers to the controversy of the Hillelites and Shammaites without quoting their opinion *verbatim*.

The later authorities are divided in their opinion, as the discussion of the subject in the Talmud is not brought to a definite conclusion. The author of *Halakot Gedolot*, usually supposed to be Simon Kayyara of the 8th century, decides against the letting of blood (ed. Hildesheimer, p. 102, Berlin, 1888). He is followed by the leading representative of the Tosafist school, R. Isaac ben Samuel of Dampierre, 12th cent. (Tosafot, *Sabbath*, 135a). R. Hay Gaon (11th cent.) demands the bleeding, but evidently does not consider it an act equal to circumcision, for he rules that the benediction be omitted. His opinion is quoted with approval by Isaac Alfasi (Sabbath, 135a, Vienna ed. 1805, p. 59a, see Nissim of Gerona and Joshua Boaz's commentary שלטי גבורים), and adopted by Maimonides (*Mishneh Torah*, Milah, 1, 7), Asher ben Jehiel, while criticising Alfasi's talmudic exegesis on the point, accepts his view (*Sabbath*, Ch. 19, sec. 5), so does his son, Jacob ben Asher (*Tur Yoreh De'ah*, secs. 263 and 265), and Joseph Caro (*Shulḥan 'Aruk, Yoreh De'ah*, 263-4), who usually follows the decisions of Alfasi and Maimonides.

The ceremony of letting blood seems to be based on the sacrificial

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* This supplementary report was furnished by Dr. Deutsch but was not read at the Conference.—Editor.

conception of circumcision. A passage in the Talmud (*Sabbath*, 137b) says: Without the blood of the covenant, heaven and earth could not stand, for it is written: Thus saith the Lord: If My covenant be not with day and night, if I have not appointed the ordinances of heaven and earth (Jer. 33, 25). Anyone, acquainted with the methods of Talmudic *Derashah*, will recognize that the text in this place should be altered in accordance with the parallel passage (*Nedarim*, 32a), where circumcision and not "the blood of the covenant" is found. But even this altered text proves that at some later period the blood shed in circumcision is presented as having the effect of sacrificial atonement.

This is clearly found in *Pirke R. Eliezer*, a work of the ninth century,* where it is said: Abraham was circumcised on the Day of Atonement, and every year God looks upon the blood of Abraham's circumcision and forgives our sins, as was done by the blood of sacrifices shed on the altar of Jerusalem which was built on the same spot where Abraham's blood was shed, and therefore it is written: (Ezekiel, 16, 6): I said unto thee: In thy blood thou shalt live (*Pirke R. E.* Ch. 29). The same idea is expressed in the ritual of circumcision in the prayer for the welfare of the child, beginning with the words: אור״א קיים את הילד הזה לאביו ולאמו This prayer is first quoted by authorities of the 12th cent., though it may be somewhat older.

We may therefore say that the insistence on the letting of blood in the case of *Nolad Mohul* is influenced by the Christian idea of the atoning power of the blood in a similar way in which the prayer for the dead *Hazkarat Neshamot* and the *Kaddish* for the deceased found their way into the Jewish ritual about the same time. (See the articles on these subjects in Eisenstein's *Ozar Minhagim*, New York, 1917.)

CONCLUSION

The ceremony of bleeding of an infant who was born without prepuce is by some authorities considered not necessary, while in the view of others it does not require a benediction, and therefore is not a religious ceremony in the strictest sense. From a medical point of view it is harmless, and therefore not to be considered on the ground of סכנת נפשות.

Gotthard Deutsch.

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* As the investigation into the origin of this Midrash is not entirely germane to the question, a brief reference to Ch. 30 may suffice, where the three stages of Islam conquest, that of Arabia, that of Spain and that of Rome, are indicated, and the latter is said to introduce the messianic age. Inasmuch as apocalyptic prophecies usually refer to an event immediately preceding their time as the beginning of the messianic era, the author of *Pirke R. Eliezer* who points to the conquest of Rome by the Saracens in 838, lived at that time.

2

DIVORCE IN THE CASE OF AN INSANE HUSBAND

The following letter was received from a rabbi in England:

I should be obliged to you if you could give me an opinion concerning the giving of a *Get* to a Jewish woman whose husband has been confined in a lunatic asylum for more than ten years, and can not recover sanity according to the diagnosis of the medical superintendent. The woman would only consider herself free to marry again, if she could receive a *Get*. Now the question is, who gives her the *Get*, her husband being quite incapable of doing so. The parties were married in Poland according to the Jewish rite and not before a secular registrar, as the case would be in England.

Reply:

Incompetency of the Insane

Rabbinic law considers חרש, שוטה, וקטן, the deaf mute, the insane and the minor, as incompetent to act in any case in which civil or religious law requires responsibility. This principle is found in numerous places in the Talmud and in later rabbinic literature of which merely the following passages shall be indicated: Mishnah, *Terumah*, 1, 2 (see remarks of Tosafot Yom Tob, *Shulḥan Aruk, Hoshen Mishpat*, 35, 8, 10, and the remark of Joseph Habiba, in his commentary on Alfasi, נימוקי יוסף, ad *Baba Kamma*, 9b, Alfasi, ed. Vienna, 1805, fol. 5b: חרש שוטה וקטן לאו בני דעת נינהו

The Special Case of Divorce

The Mishnah, *Gittin*, 67b, teaches: If one was seized by *cardiacus* and said: Write a *get* for my wife, his statement has no legal force. . . . If he lost his speech and people said to him: Shall we write a *get* for your wife? and he nodded assent, we examine him three times; if he answers properly: yes and no, the *get* may be written and handed (to the wife). The word *cardiacus* is explained by Rashi, who follows the Gemara in this case, as a demoniac obsession, curiously ascribed to overindulgence in grape juice. Maimonides in his commentary on the Mishnah, l. c. gives the correct interpretation: *Cardiacus* is a disease which results from the clogging of the cells of the brain and causes disturbance of the mind. It is a kind of falling sickness. This is etymologically correct, for *Cardiacus*, abbreviated for *Morbus cardiacus*, is perhaps used in medieval medical literature for all forms of apoplexy. (See Preuss *Biblisch-Talmudische Medizin*, etc., pp. 368-369, Berlin, 1917.) Another passage in the Mishnah, *Yebamot*, 112b, says: If a man married, while in the full possession of his senses, and

afterwards became deaf, mute or insane, he can never divorce his wife . . . for a man can not divorce his wife except by an act of free will. The Gemara in the discussion draws a distinction in the case of a man who has lucid intervals חלים עתים שוטה עתים and declares that if he remained lucid during the whole time of the procedure of issuing *Get*, the divorce is valid.

The two Talmudic passages, just cited, are practically embodied in the codes of law (*Shulḥan Aruk, Eben Ha-Ezer*, 121, 1-6), and it is unnecessary to repeat the text *verbatim*. It therefore may be laid down as the Jewish law that a man who became insane after his marriage can never divorce his wife.

Two cases, found in the *responsa* literature, having a bearing on this subject, shall be quoted. Menahem Mendl Krochmal (c. 1600-1661), deals with the case of a deaf mute who wishes to divorce his wife, and after consultation with Yom Tob Lipman Heller (1579-1654), the famous author of *Tosefot Yom Tob*, he permits the divorce with a modification of the usual procedure. (*Zemah Zedek*, No. 68). There is, however, in this case a considerable difference, inasmuch as the man was a deaf mute at the time that he married, and the divorce is in such case permissible according to the law of the Mishnah quoted (*Yebamot*, 112b). In addition while the law considers the deaf mute as incompetent, the man in this case is intelligent, having supported himself as a tailor for years.

Another case, somewhat more closely resembling ours, gave rise to a whole literature. Isaac Neuburg married Leah Gunzenhausen in Mannheim, August 13, 1766, and a few days later deserted his wife under peculiar conditions which were considered a clear evidence of insanity. On August 26, 1766, he appeared before Israel Lipschitz, rabbi of Cleve, and asked for a divorce, which the rabbi granted. The rabbis of Mannheim, where a rabbinical college of ten rabbis, The Lemle Moses Klausstiftung*, existed, declared the *Get* invalid on the ground that the man was mentally incompetent[1] The rabbinate of Frankfurt a. M. supported this view, and Simon Copenhagen[2] published the arguments in a book entitled אור הישר, (Amsterdam, 1769). Israel Lipschitz pub-

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1 Unna: *The Lemle Moses Klausstiftung*, Frankfurt a. M., 1908-1909.

2 Simon Copenhagen is a champion of orthodoxy for his time. In his נכי נהרות, Amsterdam, 1784, which is a description of a devastating flood in the Rhine valley he alludes to Herz Ullmann of Mayence who had written a textbook of metaphysics חכמת השרשים, The Hague, 1781, with the pun: הבא ליטמא פותחין לו פתחו של אולמא It is also interesting to learn that Copenhagen's patron who bore the expense of the publication was Baruch Simon Mergentheim, the grandfather of Ludwig Boerne. Roest: Katalog der Rosenthalischen Bibliothek, Anhang, p. 49, No. 281.

lished his side in another book, אור ישראל, Cleve, 1770, in which he presented his argument and letters of most of the leading rabbis of his day who sided with him. As is always the case in such controversies, those who were not convinced from the start remained unconvinced. Marcus Horovitz (1844-1909), as rabbi of Frankfurt a. M., in his history of the Frankfurt rabbinate upholds the authority of his predecessors, while Judah Lubetzki (1850-1910), not bound by such sentiments, indignantly exclaims, What shall we say, if a man in our generation dares to challenge the authority of all the luminaries of Israel on whose words our lives depend? Indeed one who disputes their authority disputes the authority of the Almighty (בדקי בתים, p. 44b, Paris, 1896). The case is not applicable to our question, for in the controversy between Israel Lipschitz and his opponents everything depended on the question, whether Isaac Neuburg was sane, which Lipschitz affirmed, while his opponents denied it. Could it have been proven that Neuburg was insane, Lipschitz would admit that the *Get* was invalid.

Conclusion

We, therefore, must arrive at the conclusion that from the point of view of the strict rabbinic law an insane man like the one described in the question can not divorce his wife, and that the latter can not marry during the lifetime of her husband.

It is different when we consider the higher principles of rabbinic law, recognized even by the most rigorous authorities. One of these principles is the often repeated talmudic rule, based on the Scriptural passage, "Her ways are ways of pleasantness" (Prov. 3, 17), that legal decisions must be in harmony with the ideas of humanity (Yer. *Erubin*, 20b, 24c-d, *Yebamot*, 15a, 87b), with propriety and common sense (*Gittin*, 59b, see Abraham Danziger, 1749-1820, one of the most rigorous authorities of his age in בדקי בתים, 3, 19), and even with aesthetics (*Sukkah*, 32a-b, see also Isaiah Horowitz, c. 1560-1630, in של"ה, fol. 383a). The special application of this principle דרכיה דרכי נעם to matrimonial laws shall be presented later.

THE RIGHT TO CHANGE AND TO INTERPRET THE LAW IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE NEEDS OF THE AGE

While it has to be admitted that the general principle of rabbinic legislation is to apply the law, as laid down by the older authorities strictly, instances are not missing in which the opposite principle is proclaimed that changed conditions demand a liberal application of the law. A Talmudic Haggadah (*Yoma*, 69b), states that the prophets altered some of the institutions of Moses. Wherefrom the question is asked: How could they set aside the authority of Moses? and the answer is given: They knew that in the eyes of God, truth stands higher than authority. This and other passages are quoted by Menahem

di Lonzano, 16h cent. שתי ידות, Venice, 1618, Ch. IV), and by Hirsch Katzenelenbogen, 1796-1868), in the preface to his נתיבות עולם Wilna, 1822.

Estori Farhi of France, 14th cent., the pioneer of Palestinian archeology among the Jews, says in his כפתר ופרח, Ch. IV, p. 67, Jerusalem, 1897: The leaders and scholars of every generation have the right to abolish a prohibition when they become convinced that the reason for the prohibition has ceased to exist.

Mordecai ben Hillel Hakohen of Nuremberg, 13th cent., one of the most rigorous authorities of his age, quotes Eliezer of Verdun, 12th cent., as saying: The rabbis of the Talmud have empowered the conscientious and learned men of every generation to interpret the law in its application to the needs of their time. (Mordecai, *Yebamot*, Ch. 16, sec. 91, fol. 56c, ed. Vienna, 1805.) This view is of great importance to our question, as it is applied to a question of matrimonial law.

Joseph Caro, 1488-1575, the author of the *Shulḥan Aruk*, who may be counted among the strictest upholders of authority, decides that Jews who occupy positions at the court may dress like non-Jews contrary to the provisions of the law (*Sifra* ad Lev. 18, 3, *Yoreh De'ah*, 178), because this adds to their dignity which enables them to be benefactors of their people (כסף משנה to Maim. *Abodah Zarah*, 11, 3).

Hayyim Benveniste of Constantinople (c. 1600-1673), an industrious compiler of notes on the code of Jacob ben Asher, declares without any attempt of apology that the rabbinic law, prohibiting that a single man be a teacher (*Kiddushin*, 82a), has become obsolete by universal disregard (כנסת הגדולה, *Yoreh De'ah*, 245, quoted by Elijah Hazan, chief rabbi of Alexandria, 1845-1908, תעלומות לב, p. 18b, Leghorn, 1879). Isaac Elhanan Spektor, rabbi of Kovno (1817-1896), universally regarded as the greatest authority among the Russian rabbis of his age, allowed work to be done in the vineyards of the Palestinian colonists by non-Jews in the Sabbathical year in clear contradiction to the Mosaic law (Lev. 25, 4), on the ground that otherwise the colonization would be a failure (*Luaḥ Aḥiasaf*, IV, 293, Warsaw, 1896).

Another advocate of colonization in Palestine may properly be mentioned in this connection. Hirsch Kalischer (1795-1874) was guided by what is now being called Kultur-Zionism in the sense in which he, a strictly orthodox Talmudist, understood it. Judaism which suffered constant losses from the inroads made by political emancipation and secular education was to obtain a homeland where orthodox practices and Jewish studies would be either custom or law of the land. For this purpose Kalischer advocated the re-introduction of sacrifices on Mount Moriah with the permission of the sultan. He proved from the Zohar that this was necessary as the first of the four stages of the Messianic kingdom (see: his דרישת ציון Lyck, 1862). So, his orthodoxy is

above all suspicion. Yet in a correspondence with Israel Hildesheimer he asserts boldly, and as a matter of course which requires no further proof, that the laws regulating the social contact and business relations with non-Jews, found in the *Shulḥan Aruk* (*Yoreh De'ah*, 153-156), are obsolete, because they are based on the presumption that the non-Jews are uncivilized and immoral. It is noteworthy that these views were expressed in a private correspondence and therefore not presented as an apology for the consumption of the non-Jewish world, as may have been the case with the remarks frequently found on the title page of a rabbinical work that by *Akkum* Christians are not meant. It is also noteworthy that Hildesheimer who, in the course of the correspondence, hurls sneering invectives against the *Reformrabbiner*, *Einsegnung*, *etc.*, and especially against any attempt to place *Philosophie* above religious authority has no objection to these views, and thus admits that parts of the *Shulḥan Aruk* have become antiquated. (See: *Festschrift zum vierzigjährigen Amtsjubiläm des . . . Dr. Salomon Carlebach*, pp. 264-307, Berlin, 1910, esp. p. 286.)

The plain law of the Mishnah (*Ta'anit*, 19a), that in times of an epidemic public fasts shall be held is set aside by Abraham Gombiner of Kalisch, 17th cent., on the ground that the weakening of vitality would be dangerous (Notes on *Shulḥan Aruk*, *Orah Hayyim*, 576, 2). This view is upheld by Hayyim Joseph David Azulai, 1723-1806, a famous Palestinian scholar of his age (ברכי יוסף, 576, 4), and, which is highly important, by Hillel Lichtenstein, 1815-1891, the representative of the most eccentric orthodoxy in the school of Moses Sofer (תשובות בית הלל, p. 51c, Szatmar, 1908). Moses Isserls, c. 1520-1572, whose notes to the *Shulḥan Aruk* are a compilation of the most rigorous practices, often recommended with such phrases, as: God will bless one who conforms with the rigorous practice, allows Jews to assist in extinguishing a fire on the Sabbath because by refusing to do so they would risk violence at the hands of the mob (*Oraḥ Ḥayyim*, 334, 26). This is quoted with approval by Ishmael Ha-Kohen (*Laudadio Sacerdoti*), c. 1730-1811, rabbi of Mantua, one of the last great teachers of Halakah in Italy (זרע אמת, 1, 44, Leghorn, 1786).

The examples cited which could be almost indefinitely multiplied, prove beyond doubt that the most rigorous authorities admit that laws of Bible and Talmud may become obsolete. Another series of quotations will prove that humanitarian regards frequently suggested the application of this principle to matrimonial laws which by stringent interpretation would work hardship on women.

Some of the most burdensome laws imposing hardship on women are those that compel a childless widow to be married to her brother-in-law (*Yibbum*, see: Deut. 25, 5-10), or be released by the ceremony of *Ḥalizah*, which to modern aesthetic feeling is highly objectionable and

often delivers the woman helplessly to the extortion of an unscrupulous man. In the passages quoted above (*Yebamot*, 15a, 87b), the Talmud limits these obligations on the ground of the principle that "the ways of the Torah must be ways of pleasantness". The *Geonim*, as the leaders of the Babylonian schools from the seventh to the eleventh century are called, though usually guided by belief in authority, permit the release from a brother-in-law who is an apostate without *Ḥalizah* on the ground that "the widow would be chained for ever" (Resp. שערי צדק II, No. 19). Moses Maimonides (1135-1205) sets aside certain decisions of the *Geonim* in laws of marriage and levirate (*Yibbum*) on the ground of unreasonable hardship (דברים רחוקים בעיני מאד מדרכי הוראה Mishneh Torah, גירושין, 10, 19). The opinion of Eliezer of Verdun, quoted above, refers to another law which entails considerable hardship on a widow. Rabbinic law requires the identification of the body as proof of death, and consequently the widow of a man lost at sea or even drowned in a river מים שאין להם סוף can not marry again, if the body was not recovered (*Yebamot*, 121a, *Eben Ha-Ezer*, 17, 32). It was with reference to such a case that R. Eliezer of Verdun declared the rabbis should decide such a case according to the conditions of the time, and it is highly remarkable that Isaac Elhanan Spektor, quoted above in his decision on the Sabbathical year, allowed the widow of a man who was a passenger on a ship lost at sea, to marry again on the ground of the opinion that the talmudic law figured on the possibility that such a man might have saved himself to a lonely island from where he could not communicate with his family, while in our days of general postal, telegraph and steamship connections such an eventuality was out of the question (עין יצחק, No. 22, p. 232, Wilna, 1888).

Most of the cases quoted are so complicated that a complete presentation would necessitate the disregard of all reasonable space limit. Therefore in the cases to be quoted as in those already quoted only the essential part, namely, the principle of placing moral considerations above the letter of the law, is presented. In the case of a man who deserted his wife on the ground of disobedience (מורדת) Joseph Colon, 15th cen., declares the rights of woman must be protected against the arbitrary action of the man (Resp. No. 57). More in line with the question under consideration is the opinion of Joshua Falk Kohen (c. 1550-1617) that the laws regarding the legal status of the deaf mute have to be interpreted with proper regard for the future of the woman in case of divorce (פרישה, Commentary on Tur, Hoshen Mishpat במקום צורך משום עגון, sec. 235).

Another law which, while originally conceived for the benefit of an orphan child, works considerable hardship on a woman, prescribes that

a woman can not remarry until her child born of a former husband is two years old (מינקת חברו *Yebamot*, 42a, *Eben Ha-Ezer*, 13, 11). The medieval law literature is full of exceptions all based on the principle that a rigorous application of the law might ruin the future of the widow, also of a divorced woman, and above all of the mother of an illegitimate child who thus might be deprived of her only chance to reform. Significant is in this respect the decision of Jacob Joshua, rabbi of Frankfurt a. M., 1680-1756, who, while deploring the laxity in such decisions, allows a woman to marry before the lapse of this period for otherwise the engagement might be broken (כדי שלא להפריד בין הדבקים see: פני יהושע, *Ketubot*, קונטרס אחרון, No. 150). The same reason is given by Moses Isserls, characterized above as an extreme rigorist for having performed a marriage ceremony on the Sabbath (Resp. 124). The authority of one of the bitterest antagonists to the reform movement may be cited in conclusion. Mordecai Benet (1753-1829) rules in a case when a woman had married before her child of a former marriage was two years old that the couple should not be compelled to separate, as the law would require, because divorce is objectionable, especially in our time when divorce cases are subject to secular legislation: קשה גירושין בפרט בזמן הזה מפני דינא דמלכותא (Resp. הר המר, p. 20b, Vienna, 1862).

CONCLUSION

Humanity and regards for the conditions of the time suggest a liberal interpretation of the law. As in the case of the marriage of the deaf mute the practice, as stated by Menahem Mendel Krochmal (Resp. צמח צדק, No. 77) is that a relative of the bridegroom shall act as his interpreter, and in the case of the divorce by a deaf mute besides the regular *Get* which the husband hands to the wife a special act recorded by the *Bet Din* states the fact (reported by Lipman Heller as the practice of the Cracow congregation dating from R. Meshullam Feibish, 16th cent. ib. 68), so in this case the *Bet Din* could appoint a guardian for the insane man who would hand to the woman the *Get*, and state the facts in a document preserved in the archives of the *Bet Din* and published in the Jewish press.

From the point of view of liberal Judaism in America the question was decided by the Philadelphia conference of 1869, which recognized—and rightly so—the *Get* as rabbinic civil law, and therefore the divorce granted by the courts of a civilized country as a divorce in the same sense in which the probate court deals with an estate, while in former centuries the rabbis acted in such a case.

Gotthard Deutsch.

July 27, 1919.

The report was ordered printed in the Yearbook.

It was moved that any unfinished business which is left over at any convention of the Conference shall be brought up at the next convention. An amendment that this be referred to the Executive Board was adopted.

It was moved and adopted that the discussion of the report of the Committee on Religious Education be brought up in connection with recommendation I in the report of the Committee on President's Message which dealt with the same subject.

The report of the Committee on President's Message was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Berkowitz.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee appointed to report on the message of the President to the 30th Convention of the Conference begs leave to submit the following:

We unite in expressing our warm appreciation of the earnest, searching and capable review of the vital issues to which the President has invited the attention of this body.

We heartily endorse the appeal our President has voiced, as the outcome of his reverent tribute to the founder of our Conference, Dr. Wise, on this memorable centenary. We dedicate ourselves in renewed loyalty to the tasks bequeathed to us and we solemnly resolve to carry forward our work by applying the aims and principles on which the Conference was founded, seeking to apply these to the new duties of our own day and to the serious demands with which the future confronts us.

We concur in the suggestion of the President that in these efforts I the primary insistence must be placed on a clarified program of Religious Education. We therefore report in favor of the adoption of his recommendation (I)

That a Committee be charged with the investigation of this question to report to the Conference a feasible plan of educational reconstruction and reform.

In the furtherance of this purpose we recommend that our Committee on Religious Education be requested to make a survey of the various endeavors made by our Conference and by all kindred agencies engaged in the promotion of Jewish education; that practical proposals be submitted to the Conference for securing a harmonized and unified purpose and coordination of effort with them.

The President in his report draws our attention in the second place to the new adjustment of social conditions and relations demanded by the stupendous changes wrought by the war. He urges the necessity of our laboring to apply to these the moral solutions which Jewish Ethics offer and which in the final analysis afford the only true solution of the vexing problems that disturb the world.

We therefore concur in recommendation (II) that a Committee pre-
II pare a draft of Jewish Ethics bearing upon current questions with recommendations for making these principles more effective in the social conflicts now raging.

To this end we favor the recommendation (III) viz.: that "A
III commission in conjunction with the Advisory Board of the Hebrew Union College submit to the Conference an exhaustive report on the training of the rabbinate and its adequacy for the social interpretation of Judaism and the socializing function of the Jewish congregation.

Further we report that we are in sympathy with the President's recommendation (IV) that a careful study be made of the preparation of the rabbi for his work as a teacher. To this end we recommend that the governing Boards of our rabbinical seminaries be urged to establish in connection with their courses, Practice Schools for Teachers. With reference to the Hebrew Union College we ask that such a recommendation be submitted through our representatives on the Advisory Board to the Board of Governors of the College.

We note with gratification from the report of the President that this Conference has been signally honored in having received an official assurance from the American delegates at the Paris Peace Conference in response to the impressive and urgent communication from our President that "in conformity with the spirit of American institutions, it will be the pleasure of the delegates to use their utmost endeavor to obtain for all peoples equality of treatment in accordance with their determined right without regard to race or religion."

We record with gratification also the action of our President in requesting the eminent leaders of American Jewry now in Paris to plead in our name for the incorporation of an article in the Solemn Covenant of the League of Nations guaranteeing full rights of citizenship for all peoples in every land.

The Central Conference of American Rabbis holds itself in readi-
IV ness to aid in the social, economic and religious rehabilitation of the Jewries in the war stricken regions of the world.

In conclusion we wish to express the thanks and appreciation due to the President for the faithful and untiring labors with which throughout his entire administration he has devoted himself to the manage-
V ment of the affairs of the Conference. We express the confident hope that he will continue to serve the welfare of the Conference

through the experience and the intimate knowledge of its affairs with which his leadership has equipped him.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY BERKOWITZ, *Chairman* ABRAM SIMON,
HENRY ENGLANDER, JOSEPH STOLZ,
LEO M. FRANKLIN, HORACE J. WOLF.
SAMUEL KOCH,

The report was received and the various recommendations were taken up seriatim.

Recommendation I was adopted.

Rabbi Berkowitz—The report of the Committee on Religious Education which was submitted at this session made no reference whatever to previous endeavors on the part of this Conference—made no reference to any endeavors to secure an educational program such as has been used by other agencies and we ask that this committee continue the work and make a general survey and endeavor to get some practical program.

Rabbi Rosenau—In the report of the Committee on President's Message reference is made to a curriculum. This report of the Committee on Religious Education does not give us a curriculum in the sense of the recommendation. The report merely presents in the form of a series of questions certain facts in connection with religious education. I would suggest that it be referred back to the Committee with the request that they redraft it along the line laid down by the President's Message Committee.

Rabbi Louis Grossman—Half of the matter in the report is entirely outside of the field touched upon by the President's message. The report showed a conscientious survey of conditions existing in religious education in this country. It is not a presentation of a curriculum. The committee was not charged with that task. The Committee took upon itself to present the status of religious education in this country and in accordance with that status to make certain recommendations. I believe it would be unfair to the Committee to turn its work back to it.

Rabbi Klein—I feel it is unfair to the Committee and to the Conference to try to dispose of a program of religious education in fifteen minutes. There has been a change of feeling as the result of the war. We are trying to do some work of a constructive nature at this Conference in honor of Dr. Wise. You have a concrete proposition before you. If referred back to the Committee, it will delay action for a year. Why not let it go out to the members in its present form so that they can at least see what is contemplated.

Rabbi Eli Mayer—This subject is one of the most important that has come to the attention of the Conference. We are all interested in the Religious School problem and the thing in the report which is most valuable is the emphasis laid on the curriculum. I shall feel that it will suffice if this matter of curriculum be emphasized and the Committee be instructed to bring in such a report next year and a morning be given to its consideration.

Rabbi Berkowitz—I merely wish to point out that we are going around in a circle. The report fails to consider previous work done by the Conference and much of value has been accomplished. I venture to say that we are twenty-five years behind the teachers in this work for in their assemblies they have discussed every one of the questions raised in this report. Why not bring in a full report? This report was good as far as it went, but we want everything that has been done on the subject before we formulate a definite plan.

It was moved and adopted that the report of the Committee on Religious Education be referred back to the Committee for further study and with the request that a curriculum be formulated and that the Committee be thanked for its work as manifested in the report presented.

Recommendation II was adopted.

Rabbi Morgenstern—The question of Jewish Ethics and the presentation thereof has been raised. As Vice-Chairman of the

Tract Commission I wish to say that for three years we have had in our hands a splendid presentation in popular form of this very subject prepared by Rabbi Schulman. As soon as the Tract Commission goes ahead with its work, this pamphlet will be published.

Recommendation III was adopted.

Recommendation IV was adopted as amended.

Recommendation V was adopted by a rising vote.

The report was adopted as a whole as amended.

The President, Rabbi Grossman, resumes the Chair.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions was read by Rabbi Newfield.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Resolutions begs leave to submit the following report on the resolutions introduced at the Conference.

I

WHEREAS, the Central Conference of American Rabbis has consistently and at every opportunity put itself on record as approving all movements for the betterment of social and industrial conditions; and whereas none of the publication of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, including the latest of these, the Revised Edition, Volume I, Union Prayer Book, appears with a Union label, which label would indicate that the printing was done under conditions, approved by the best social conscience of our day,

Therefore be it RESOLVED, that the Central Conference of American Rabbis instruct its Publications Committee that no bids for printing be received in the future from any firms, operating under other than the highest shop standards of labor in America.

PHILIP F. WATERMAN,
ELI MAYER,
SAMUEL KOCH,
MARIUS RANSON,
JONAH B. WISE,
I. KLEIN,
STEPHEN S. WISE,
MARTIN A. MEYER,
HORACE J. WOLF,
LOUIS J. KOPALD,
JEROME MARK,
S. M. GUP,
HARRY H. MAYER,
ALFRED G. MOSES,
GEORGE SOLOMON,
SEYMOUR G. BOTTIGHEIMER,
ISAAC L. RYPINS,
MORRIS M. FEUERLICHT.

Your Committee recommends the following:

It is an established fact that in the past the Executive Board has awarded contracts for printing and other work only to firms in whose shops proper conditions for employees obtain. The Conference has full confidence that this policy will continue in the future. However, in view of the fact that the preamble of this resolution deals with the subject of Union Labor and feeling that the Conference should be given the opportunity to discuss this subject thoroughly in all its aspects, we recommend, therefore, that the question be referred to the Committee on Social Justice with instructions to study thoroughly and bring to the Conference a recommendation which will crystallize the attitude of the Conference on this question.

II

Be it RESOLVED, that the executive officers of this Conference formulate a cablegram to President Wilson at Paris, giving him the assurance of our fullest support in the establishment of a League of Nations, and in his strivings to bring about a just peace for mankind.

With reference to this resolution your Committee approves the action suggested, namely, that the executive officers of the Conference formulate a cablegram to President Wilson, giving him the assurance of our fullest support in the establishment of a League of Nations, and in his strivings to bring forth a just peace for mankind.

The committee further suggests the adoption of the following: Be it further resolved that a message be sent to the President, expressing the earnest hope of the Conference that the final draft of the proposed covenant of the League of Nations shall provide definite guarantees for full political emancipation and religious freedom for the racial and religious minorities in all countries, especially in the new states to be created.

III

Be it RESOLVED, that the rule which empowers the Executive Board (Y. B. XXVIII, 108) to pass on reports of the committees and to decide whether the reports shall be submitted to the conference, does not give the Executive Board the right to amend the report.

G. DEUTSCH,
HARRY H. MAYER,
SIMON R. COHEN,
JACOB D. SCHWARZ,
HEHRY ENGLANDER,
PHILIP F. WATERMAN,
A. BRILL,
H. A. MERFELD,
LOUIS BERNSTEIN,
I. E. PHILO,
LOUIS WITT.

It is our opinion that there is no need for any specific action on this matter, because the power of revision of a report was never given to the Executive Board and is still the prerogative of the Conference. It is the recommendation of the Committee on Resolutions that if the Committee submitting a report to the Conference through the Executive Board does not wish to accept the advice of the Executive Board with reference to emendations, that the Executive Board submit their objections to such report in writing to the Conference.

IV

Be it RESOLVED, that any report, which the Executive Board does not find necessary to bring before the Conference, may be brought before it by a vote of the majority of the members present at the Conference.

G. DEUTSCH, A. BRILL,
HARRY H. MAYER, H. A. MERFELD,
SIMON R. COHEN, LOUIS BERNSTEIN,
JACOB D. SCHWARZ, I. E. PHILO,
HENRY ENGLANDER, LOUIS WITT.
PHILIP F. WATERMAN,

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

All the recommendations of the Committee were adopted.

The report was adopted as a whole as amended.

It was moved and adopted that the action of the Chicago Conference in referring to the Executive Board all business reports before they are presented to the Conference be continued for another year. (Yearbook, Vol. XXVIII, 108.)

The report of the Committee on Thanks was then read by Rabbi Kornfeld.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THANKS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The 1919 convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis will take its place among the notable gatherings of our body —and this, chiefly, because of the time and the place of its meeting. It was not only eminently fit, but exceedingly fortunate, that we held this meeting on the hundredth anniversary of the sainted Isaac M. Wise, the founder of this Conference, in the city which is consecrated as the scene of his life work, and whose atmosphere is still pervaded and permeated by his spirit. This spirit we have felt not only in the synagogs,

in the Hebrew Union College, but also in the homes of this community. The Sabbath we have spent in these homes has been a veritable *Oneg*, a genuine delight. We found not only fine Jewish hospitality, but a true religious devotion, worthy of a city renowned as the center of Jewish thought and inspiration. Indeed, we feel that we were blessed in our coming.

It were utterly impossible to mention by name everyone who has contributed to our comfort and entertainment during our delightful stay in this city. However, it may not be amiss to name Mr. J. Walter Freiberg and Mr. Henry Beckman, chairman and vice-chairman, respectively, of the committee for the entertainment of the thirtieth convention of the Conference. These, together with the presidents of the congregations, the presidents of the sisterhoods, and the rabbis have distinguished themselves by their whole-hearted solicitude for our comfort and entertainment.

We are deeply indebted to the ladies and gentlemen who participated in the artistic vocal and dramatic performances, given at the Wise Center and Rockdale Center.

We appreciate the thoughtfulness which prompted the Board of Governors of the Hebrew Union College not only to place at our disposal the beautiful and commodious halls of the college, but also to hold the Graduation Exercises at this time, thus affording us the inspiration of that impressive service. We feel that through it we ourselves have been dedicated anew to the sacred task that lies before us—namely, to make Judaism regnant and triumphant in the life of the Jew and the world.

We highly commend the splendid service of the local press in reporting the proceedings of our convention.

It was a special joy for us to note the fine spirit of helpfulness in the students of the Hebrew Union College. They ministered gracefully in every capacity in which they were called on to serve.

Recipients of these numerous attentions, we sincerely regret that our stay has been all too brief. It has been a week of unsurpassed pleasure, and we take with us abiding memories of the many good people we have met, the warm welcome we have received, and the cordial hospitality we have enjoyed.

Respectfully submitted,

JOSEPH S. KORNFELD, *Chairman*,
I. MORTIMER BLOOM,
RAPHAEL GOLDENSTEIN,
PIZER JACOBS,
CHARLES LATZ,
MEYER LOVITCH,
JULIAN H. MILLER,
LOUIS A. MISCHKIND,
JACOB TARSHISH.

The report was adopted by a rising vote.

The report of the Committee on Nominations was read by Rabbi Abram Hirschberg.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Nominations begs leave to make the following report:

Honorary President, Kaufman Kohler
President, Leo M. Franklin
Vice-President, Edward N. Calisch
Treasurer, Abram Simon
Recording Secretary, Isaac E. Marcuson
Corresponding Secretary, Felix A. Levy

EXECUTIVE BOARD

Henry Berkowitz
Max C. Currick
Henry Englander
Louis Grossman
Samuel Hirshberg
Clifton H. Levy
David Lefkowitz
Martin A. Meyer
Marcus Salzman
George Solomon
Louis Wolsey

ADVISORY BOARD OF THE HEBREW UNION COLLEGE

William Fineshriber
Jacob H. Kaplan

Your committee recommends that hereafter the report of the Nominating Committee shall be submitted on the third day of the Conference sessions.

Respectfully submitted,

ABRAM HIRSCHBERG, *Chairman,*
ABRAM BRILL,
WILLIAM S. FRIEDMAN,
JACOB H. KAPLAN,
LOUIS J. KOPALD,
ELI MAYER,
LOUIS D. MENDOZA,
MARIUS RANSON,
MARCUS SALZMAN,
JACOB D. SCHWARZ,
GEORGE SOLOMON.

It was moved and adopted that the report be received and that the recommendation be referred to the Executive Board.

It was moved and adopted that the By-laws be amended so that the number of members serving on the various Commissions shall be increased to six.

It was moved and adopted that the Executive Board shall name the additional members of the various Commissions to bring the number of members to six.

It was moved and adopted that any member receiving an honorarium from the Conference for services rendered shall not thereby lose any rights of membership or of holding office.

The report of the Committee on Nominations was then unanimously adopted and the Recording Secretary was instructed to cast a ballot for the officers, members of the Executive Board and the Conference representatives nominated in the report.

Rabbi Grossman called the newly elected President, Rabbi Leo M. Franklin, to the Chair and turned over to him the gavel with the following words:

It is with pleasure that I transfer the gavel to the hands of my successor, Rabbi Franklin. I do so with great pleasure, knowing that I give the trust into capable hands. I also wish to express my sincere thanks to you all for the confidence and encouragement received and for the exceptional privilege of serving so great and so fine a cause as that of the Conference.

Rabbi Franklin replied:

I wish to express my great appreciation for this very signal honor of which I feel all too deeply my own unworthiness. During the twenty-seven years that have passed since my graduation from the College I have honestly tried to give the Conference the best that was in me. I have felt that the Conference is the representative organization of American Israel and to stand at the head of such an organization carries with it not only high honor, but also responsibility, the meaning of which I know only too well. I shall try during the term of my Presidency to uphold the best traditions of the past of this Conference; I shall try to conduct your affairs with the utmost conscientiousness and without partisanship and without prejudice. I shall try to hold before my eyes not personal ambition, but the right and duty to serve the larger cause.

I shall hope for your cooperation. Particularly may I ask that I have the cooperation not only of those who in past years have stood as leaders and workers in our cause, but particularly of the younger men who are now coming into this organization and into whose hands will soon be put the responsibility for the direction of the affairs of American Israel. It is particularly gratifying to me that I should be exalted to this high office in this city and at this time when we have celebrated the centenary of our great teacher and leader. I only pray God at this hour that He may give me the wisdom and courage to do my part for you and for the great cause which we all love.

The closing prayer and benediction were pronounced by Rabbi Kaufman Kohler. The session closed with the singing of *America* and *En Kelohenu* by all the members of the Conference.

The Conference adjourned *sine die*.

Action on the following Amendment to the Constitution was postponed until the next convention of the Conference:

ARTICLE VI

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE BOARD

Section 1—The officers of this Conference shall be a President, Vice-President, Recording Secretary, Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be elected for a period of one year and shall hold office until their successors are elected.

These officers, together with 18 additional members, shall constitute the Executive Board. These 18 members of the Executive Board shall hold office for three years, or until their successors are elected.

At the convention at which this amendment is adopted six (6) members shall be elected for three (3) years; six (6) for two (2) years, and six (6) for one (1) year.

APPENDIX

A

MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT

TO THE

THIRTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION

OF THE

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

CINCINNATI, OHIO, APRIL 2, 1919.

This session is memorial. We meet on this date and in this city because we wish to honor Isaac M. Wise. He lies in the grave nineteen years, but our respect, our love, our fidelity to him is as strong as when he was in our midst. The changes which have come in the interval have not beclouded our recollections. They have in some degree brightened them. His services for American Judaism have obligated us, for his personality was forceful in a historic time, and his memory is precious to us who were privileged to be in touch with him. We have assembled for no merely formal demonstration, but by the urge of an affection which endures despite his death and new conditions.

This Conference has a twofold reason for signalizing his memory. He brought us together by his irresistible call to duty, and he held us together in hearty co-operation by his charming persuasiveness. He mingled stern impulsiveness with naive benignity. He was the one man in American Jewry who knew how to command with a smile and exact service and compliance even from those who held themselves truculently remote. Such

indeed has been the impact of his good and wise influence that this Conference has maintained its organizing work and is steadily assimilating the diversified elements of the American rabbinate.

We celebrate the Centenary because of our pride in his achievements, our gratification that we were in his life and our solemn sense of responsibility since the great cause of the Jewish people and the insistent duties toward it which he served so effectively devolve upon us. And a festival evokes intensive thought. The pride we feel calls for emulation. The personal gratification we have that we were near to him transmutes into incentive. And the increased sense of obligation which comes to us when we measure ourselves by the standard of his intensely serious career should hold us at our labor with tenacious loyalty.

But right and pious as this is, it is not sufficient. An exemplary life is not for emulation alone and surely not for admiration nor for contemplation alone. Its real significance lies in the demand it puts upon us to re-interpret ourselves and revalue the things, the circumstances, the men, the causes we deal with. The nineteen years that have elapsed constitute a period of shifting changes, and the suggestions which the known aims of Isaac M. Wise offer help us to adjust ourselves to these changes. We shall see in the course of this session that he was not an innovator, as much as he was a defender of the Jewish people against insinuating foes within and without.

A Reformer is always a defender and protector of the essential facts of life. Isaac M. Wise stood out not for expedients but for absolute truth. He gave this Conference a positive character. We represent what is historically true and that which neither radicalism can foist nor reactionism pervert. American Judaism has developed along with the logic of religious, social, economic and political movements of which it is a part and not according to the preconceptions and whims of abstruse idealists or impulsive theorizers. Whoever will narrate the history of American Reform will make a place for the achievement of Isaac M. Wise not only because he had balance of judgment and prevision but also because he based his pleas and demands on the facts of life which are always the sources of truth.

AMERICAN JUDAISM

He made Judaism American. He was unerringly earnest in his faith but he was equally intense in his citizenship. To be sure, all our great men, in every period and in every country, have endeavored to give to Judaism the character of the indigenous. But in every other instance of our history which is so varied in social and political and civic conditions, Reform was largely a device of adjustment. German Reform which is regarded as the source and the prototype of our American Reform was not a development. It was an effort, and at that a pathetic effort, forever tantalized and never complete, to approximate rather than to merge into its environment. Thanks to the consistency of the patriotic Wise, we worked out the problem of the new life from both sides of our religious and our civic allegiances and fused the two loyalties so that each enhanced the other. This Conference is the organ of an American born Judaism which is purged of every trace of alienism and expresses the genius of democracy as much as of our faith. Wise was a democrat and believed, in all confidence, in the democracy of human nature. His democracy intermingled with his Judaism. It was a moralized democracy in which civic obligation is sublimated into religious fervor. Political fealty did not express his loyalties completely. It seemed to him only the formal part of social and communal life. Moral interest and religious seriousness are of larger compass and of deeper significance. Political allegiance is only a phase of our moral life. We assume it only when we arrive at the age of majority, after religion and morals have poured their subtle influences into us twenty-one years long.

And American liberty and American justice and the genius of American life, said Wise, are identical with Jewish verities and Jewish aspirations. In religion, he maintained, Judaism is the last word of the anxious ages and Americanism the culminating reach of civilization. Both must dominate. One cannot be subordinated to the other. In their coincidence is soundness for the community, strength for character, and vision for thought and ideals. This identity of the two essential phases

of life, which fell apart in the philosophy and theology of his contemporaries and is held distinct by some in our day, was the very heart of Wise's Reform.

REFORM

Reform is usually taken as reformulization of the articles of faith, of the modernization of the ritual, or as adjustment of the Jewish life to the life of the environment. But that is a superficial view which does not account for organization. Belief, however phrased, is an attitude of mind. It is not will. In the intellectually strenuous time of Wise it was being clarified, almost by itself. Many who were outside of congregations and the reach of rabbis, corrected their perspective of God and man through the cultural enlightenment which had flared up from all sides.

The revision of the ritual also has been dignified as Reform. The theological implications which it carried is probably the source of that dignity. In itself ritual is purely formal. It involves elimination of rhetoric, of words that wrap decadent thought, and rejects as moribund what even loyalty cannot warm back into life. The swarm of prayer-books that flew like belated birds into the night that was falling upon confused and disconcerted worship, could not save ritual because ritual needs soul and is satisfied with nothing else but soul.

What was needed was intensified moral interest, the dynamics of life. Reform must be a positive influence and must organize and build. The Reform that had been brought into this country from Germany was a revision and not a reconstruction. It reformed. It did not re-form. It had its eye upon the lingering survivals and doubted their life-value or despised and condemned them. It supposed that pruning was the same as cultivating, and that grafting would vitalize the tree. But adjustment is not a final step in reform, and assimilation, however unconscious and profitable and necessary, always stops short of self-reliance, which life demands. The reformer must evoke self-reliance or else he fails. Only morality saves.

Reform was a splendid achievement of Jewish self-conscious-

ness. It felt that there is power in tradition and it rescued and reenforced that moral power. To be sure, it was not a chauvinistic self-consciousness which is part boast of what the fathers have done and part vaunt and promise. It was circumspect and measured effort to recoup what had been lost through the pressure of inevasible influences and to open the way for virile self-expression and undisputed and free self-assertion. Wise strove to accomplish an inner Reform, to place the Jew upon his own feet, to clear the way for his progress in his soul, to make possible his moral rebirth.

That is why his reform was not mere temple reform and creed revision. He had a larger orbit for his vision. Everything he did was national in scope and called for union. The rabbis must cease to discuss and to differ on scholastic distinctions. They had work to do and disputations are a waste of moral energy and a neglect of opportunity and obligation. The congregations must ally themselves and cease to be petty in localisms. For what they hold of Judaism is not theirs as a separate possession, but draws from the fountains fed from the subtle sources of the common Jewish soul and they have a duty to replace what they use. The organization of the Union of Congregations and of the Conference of Rabbis had an identical reason. Both were born of the same spirit. Both were re-formations of the Jewish life and re-assertions of the same conscious Jewish self.

The Conference is an effective instrument for this large-scoped effort. What it has done so far is only preparatory for what the freed genius of the Jewish people demands. So far we have enlightened belief. But belief, while it must be protected against becoming the bugbear of rationalists, the resort of mystics and the tyrant of the immature, is, after all, not much more than a formula. It is not a direction and a charge. We have set the logic of Judaism into clear light and have given it a new convincing strength. But Judaism, like all elemental truths, is not a mere argument and syllogism. It is a moral force and cannot stand still in inactive creed. The Conference got the impact of activity from the dynamic personality of its founder and it aspires to organize the life of the Jews in

the United States, and of Jewish people everywhere, so that it may be, not only exemplary in a world that is in the thraldom of confused and confusing heredities, but also forceful to disabuse it of inveterate injustice.

CONSTRUCTIVE REFORM

And this Conference conceives it has another obligation, in the spirit of its statesman-like founder, namely, to make Reform tell as revival, more vital than mere opportunism and prudence. We must make it constructive. A new prayer-book is not a constructive reform. To crowd out the residuals of orthodox belief, to remove what had become aborted and to substitute for them what is truthful and genuine and living, to de-orientalize the Jew and to relieve the processes of Americanization of hindrances that had little justification and were irrelevant was not a positive contribution. To announce that some doctrines have lost their meaning, that we are no longer responsible for them and that we will not exact consent to them was a kind of vacuous polemics, in which even the *advocatus diaboli* had withdrawn. Life, insistent and pulsating, that sheds the decadent and defunct organs by healthy processes, and replaces the moribund by sound and self-sufficient organs, is not satisfied with mere cures, and has at its command more efficient means and a more strenuous push for health. A reform that merely improves things is not final. Reform must emancipate and liberalize; but it must also produce new life. We can understand why Wise was impatient with mere expedients. His contemporaries seem to have supplied nothing better. His reformatory nature was not only impulsive; it was also considerate. He could not be content with the petulant radicalism so loud in his day, because it was destructive. It is a foolhardy thing to pull at the roots of religion. We loosen the soil in which it thrives and who knows what delicate fibres we kill. Tinkering with the soul is a delicate operation and much of the reform that was rampant in Wise's time was repugnant to him because his sensitive soul felt the sharp edge of the injury. There are sanctities in the religious life which are entitled to delicacy.

Reform has been largely theological. That has been its weakness. For religion is more than theology and life is more than both. We discarded some articles of faith, we eliminated some prayers, we colluded with lapses from rabbinical law, and abrogated it, because it was incompatible with modern thought or irrelevant to our intellectual attitude toward God, and we re-interpreted our faith or rather we restored the original aspiration of Israel. This we called our liberalization or Reform. But all this was the work of rabbis. The congregations shared in it only to the extent of validating it. The more intangible part of Reform, that which pertains to outlook and "mission" fell between two stools, as the phrase is. Either they were remote from the facts of the pressing life or were deferentially referred to "scholarship".

Dr. Wise resented this. He could see no legitimacy in this division. He had confidence in democracy and he would not limit it to the "laity" and the congregation. He organized this Conference because he believed in ministerial democracy as much. Democracy is not a matter of votes but of spirit. In all men there is the same human soul. Applied to the Jewish people, democratic equality means a like loyalty and a like need and a like ideal. If Reform is to be an effective uplift, it must be all sided and pervasive. And if Reform is to release the energies for the full exercise of the religious life, there may not be a division of labor, the one executive, as it were, and the other merely advisory.

Wise organized the Union of Congregations and the Conference not as two houses, one upper and the other lower, but as complementary parts of one democratized solidarity. There cannot be theoretic reform and practical reform over against one another. There is only one kind of reform, one that grows out of the moral life, in which all men have a part alike. Dr. Wise trusted the corporate life of the Jewish people and his reform aimed at preserving and enhancing that. You recollect how half amused and angry Wise was when some one announced (was it in 1895?) he had discovered the Jewish people. "Only an alien could have done that", he said. And indeed, the discoverer was an avowed, voluntarily alienated Jew, who,

like a veritable Columbus, had to be forced and humiliated on the way to the discovery!

Dr. Wise called his Prayer Book *Minhag America.* His Judaism was interwoven with his Americanism. They were not welded as if originally apart, nor fused under the heat of an outside influence. They were one at the moment of their soul-birth. So also he called the God of Israel the "Cosmic-God" in a book which has not had an adequate reading even in his own time. There is only one kind of life, and the problem is not to piece together the bits that may have fallen apart through circumstance or necessity or history, but to see to it that they grow into one another and become one flesh and one soul. He who will integrate life will be the real reformer. Life is an organism and cannot have health except it provide it itself. And the Jewish people, that wonderful organism whose flesh holds indestructible life, and whose soul is perennial, neither exhausts itself in the unending tragedies nor comes to complete unfoldment in them. It has its genius not in "belief" nor in "reforms", but in that unified self which has no room for atomizations. Theology or nationalism or laicism or rabbinism or winged words like them have meaning only in the gossipy terminology of pseudo-science or campaign-eloquence. I cannot imagine how one can be a Jew in one direction of life and different in another. Life has no compartments, and religion, like life, is indivisible. Wise saw units, not detached parts, just as readers pick up words or phrases and pages, and not letters. He felt the throbbing pulse and measured disease and health by the flow of the blood.

HOMOGENEITY

Comprehensive changes have come since Wise's day. Old, historic congregations are absorbing newcomers and congregations are forming out of immigrants of recent arrival. Even the intellectual and spiritual interests have been affected. An alignment is being made to national and civic conditions, and religion has ceased to be merely meditative. The movement is away from individualism toward socialization. We have ar-

rived at the point of culmination. Nothing has value except the social. Solidarity is the standard. Wise declared to us the last time we met here, that Judaism would be the religion of the world in twenty years. We shook our heads at his *naivete*. But what is socialization and solidarity, that indeed have come, other than the religion of today, and what are they other than Judaism verifying itself in them?

The new generation of Jews is cherishing the tradition of Israel in a spirit similar to that of their fathers. Their aim is to secure homogeneity. It is the tragic fact of our history that we are migrants so often. Our fathers could not grow into one another's lives. When they approached nativization, a new swarm of immigrants was thrust among them and the process of naturalization had to be begun afresh. In Wise's time Jews lived in their reminiscences. Their European origin sprawled over their manners, their thought and their habits. They were kindred only in moral outlook. It is not much different today. Common moral interest is the surest guarantee of homogeneity. Only by it will the heterogeneous mass of the new accessions to American Jewish life be assimilated. Reform among us is always a matter of moral interest. We shall have an American Jewish people in our day, as Wise had in his, just as soon as the ethical interests link the diverse elements together.

EDUCATION

We must help in the reorganization of education. For education is the first step in social progress. We have never been sure as to our competence, though we possess it. We have maintained homes in unassailable purity. We have fortified manhood in domestic loyalty, and womanhood in inexhaustible fidelity. We have made our morals the best part of our efficiency. What more can education do? The Jewish community is an achievement of ethical organization. Social problems, such as worry the civilization of today, are solved by us effectively, even if on a small scale. For it is the first touch that counts. That first touch is education. We educate by influence, by cumulative influence, by all-sided influence, by the moral influences which

are direct and personal. The secular education of the practical world is cumbersome and lacks warmth and simplicity. Affectionate training has nature and sincerity on its side. We could give the modern world a very salutary lesson in education. But we do not. There is not a problem of school and aim and method and means that we could not illumine with the light of our age-long experience. But we observe reticence and perplex those who know that we have a wealth of advice and guidance. We know, however, how we got into this barren policy of silence. We allowed the static theologian to inhibit us. He sees doctrines, but not social aims, and Judaism exquisitely reasoned or revealed, but not the Judaism that throbs in the hearts of men and women. Almost the first book Wise wrote was for the school, following in this his keen foresight. The reformer allies himself with the moralizing forces of education.

Israel too is a reformer and has at its command a classic pedagogy which has become its flesh and blood. Its education lies not in the profundity of doctrine, but in the reality of life. What service could we not render to a distracted world, if only we saw our competence! We talk volubly of our "mission". Here is our opportunity to fulfil it. The culture of our times needs idealization, and idealization is morality sublimated and woven into the texture of men's souls. Vocational guidance, practical education, preparation for life and many catch phrases current today make manifest that sordid thought is choking up the soul of men. Judaism could release it and make it free. There is a call for the moral pieties as a counter balance and a still more insistent call for the corrective influence of Judaism which has always been a world morality. The world needs us again as it has needed us in all its tragic turns. Let us give what we have and thank God that what we have is worth taking. Israel is a moral resource from which the nations draw when they have become impoverished. Europe has become morally poor. Now let Israel give of its wealth. I submit this to this thoughtful Conference.

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL

A striking instance of the fact that we rely upon the moral instincts as ingrained into us and that we distrust the adventitious zeal that wants to drive belief and faith and interest and zeal into us from the outside, is the constant difficulty we have with our Sunday Schools. They are alien in origin, their text books are conventional, their methods stilted, and their teachers untrained and untouched. And this condition is due not to apathy, but to a subconscious sense that moral influence can never be a trade or a profession. It is too deep going, too natural, too sacredly personal for that. We have imitated the institution of the Christian Sunday School, but fortunately our moral genius has refused to yield to it its precious sanity and independence.

The unrelievable flaw in the Sunday School is the implication that religion and its pieties are detached and isolated facts and I do not know what mischief this detachment has induced. Here is a reform, an educational reform, which it is the obligation of this Conference to guide and achieve. Judaism is in the texture of all of life, it is not an accomplishment nor an accessory. It is not mere knowledge which like other attainments can be measured, examined and registered as school-subjects are. It is an all pervasive, moralizing, and, if you please, intellectualizing, of the whole of the soul, and the problem for us is to restore Judaism to the centre of the educational life of the Jewish child and educational interest into the centre of the Jewish community.

There is another point in this reform. We must secure to the child a unified educational influence. There must be integration of its educational life. At present its life is disrupted. The disjointed parts do not even dovetail. It is not surprising that this disorder comes to the surface in the later years of adolescence. It superinduces a confusion of values which chills and heats character at the wrong places. I have no doubt that much of the moral displacements with regard to Judaism and the Jewish cause, in the souls of the young men and women, is traceable to this initial cleavage of personality. It becomes

more noticeable and aggravated in the instance of those who have felt this absence of the alignment of the Jewish teaching most in their academic environment.

I do not plead for expedients to remedy this evil, but for a radical reform of Jewish education. The insufficiency of our school-efforts is little creditable to us, but it is also a hazard which we cannot afford to bear any longer. We must attack this problem with resoluteness. It is not solved by more time and more abundant appropriations and more solemn admonitions and an added campaign. It is a question of clarity of thought and a return to first principles. And I appeal to this Conference to lead in this reform with prevision.

I suggest that the corporate wisdom and scholarship of this Conference work out a program by which the educational values of our Jewish life be given an adequate exposition in a frank and certain spirit that our achievements in culture are such as can rebuild the collapsed world of today.

I feel that we should investigate the Sunday School problem from this point of view. Is it not time that we create the organs of our educational activities and break away from an alienism which can never be at home with us nor effective for our needs? In order to put this appeal into parliamentary form, I recommend that a Committee be charged with the investigation of this question and with the task of reporting to this Conference at an early date, before its next session, a feasible plan of educational reconstruction and reform.

I

THE SOCIAL PROBLEMS

The educational problem is, as a matter of fact, however, merely subsidiary to the social. For education is only the means society has to perpetuate itself. The Jewish people is always essentially democratic. That means that adjustments take place spontaneously. There are no strata and no castes amongst us, and there never were and never will be. But there are differentiations, differences of moral character, such as nature invests and in profound wisdom upholds for the effective molding of all in the common cause. We do not resent the gifts of nature, but

rather welcome and respect them. Education is not designed to level men to the dead line, but to lift them to that life-line which moves and waves as all lines do in God's active world. The social inequalities have never disturbed us. We take them as natural and well balanced. We accept them because we scent in them the all important moral differences. Social differences are moral differences and men will always fall apart because of them. The social problem, therefore, in its ultimate is a problem in ethics. And seeing this, we Jews believe we have a right and a duty to undertake its solution.

The psychological moment for our "mission" has arrived. The world is perturbed by deep burrowing questions. They go to the root of life, not because they are profound and complicated, but because they are simple and elemental. Moral solutions are always found last, just because they are intangible. Men are intensely serious and mock-solemnity does not satisfy them. They want the genuine, and they will get it and not spare the cost. Contrast with this our apathy, I was almost going to say *blaséness*. We have the best morality, but we withhold it from the world. We could allay the passions that break out so ominously, but we keep silent. There is not one social conflict we could not enlighten by the moral discernment we have. But we act as if we were poor and our only affluence were in sordid things. Here this Conference has an unadjournable duty. The "mission" of Israel is at hand.

We have made the most extensive experiment in social organization and we speak in the light of experience. We have held ourselves beyond the margin of poverty and disease and crime. We have a right to speak on the subjects of political economy and government and law. The right and the prestige. For our experiment has had signal success. Our scheme of life, otherwise called religion, was a dispensation, not only at the time of Moses, but throughout our historic and widespread adjustment to the world. Judaism is sociology of universal scope in meaning and intercontinental in fact. And it is verified and not merely a theory. Our solidarity, our self-restraint, our loyalty, our sobriety, our virtues that have held us firm and uncontami-

nated in the feverish world are an uncontradictable evidence that we have a right to speak and advise.

And our sociology is not a system of prudences and of policies, but a consistent and unified and moralized plan of life. Our religion is dynamic, as every elemental fact of life is. And being that, it is neither antique, as our contestants sneer, nor the mere promise of a "mission," as men in our own midst urge with solemn grandiloquence. Our genius speaks out in our organization of life, in our morally saturated organization which has its resources not outside, but in its own soul.

Now contrast with this the moral condition of the modern non-Jewish world. Society is fragmentary and lacks cohesion. Business connects; it does not establish kinships. Nationalism enthuses; it does not moralize. It takes as actual what it merely vaunts. And even internationalism, which is merely an outreaching wish, is a truce and at best a compact, but not yet and perhaps never a fusion. And religion, non-Jewish religion, breaks life into two detached, almost hostile parts, one secular and another canonical, part under control and part voluntary, without bridge between them and without bond. Legislatures frame laws, but respect for them depends on piety which they neither consult nor train. The courts dispense justice, but justice is grudging and discipline ineffectual, and there is no motive for submission except that grave apprehension of fear which debases manhood. The religions, since they are many and diverse, have prestige and power rather than verity and mold men into a common type but do not hold them. Men aggregate out of partisanship or co-operate out of interest and the constructive forces are outside and not inside of them. It is not surprising that wars arise. Where souls do not cement and men yield to one another only through outside touch, they readily go apart. Cohesion can never produce what kinship can.

The world needs the saving grace of kinship. Kinship is the most efficient instance of moral fusion. Everything in Judaism takes its rise and has its fulfilment in kinship. The altar is the table, not of mystic communion, but family identity. The most real sacrament is marriage, that function by which not only life, but also the best content of life is preserved and en-

nobled. Justice is mutual sponsorship to God. Every relationship between men is not only a source of their weal and woe, but is also dependent upon the approval or disapproval of God. Our ethics is all inclusive, has the farthest reach and an immovable basis. The Good is not a personal investment, but a contribution to a common fund upon which all men draw. Evil is not merely a personal failure, but the bankruptcy of human life and the assault upon its stronghold. Jewish ethics is the most social scheme of life as yet devised.

We should lack in vision if we should let men regard it as a moral economy of merely our own small Jewish household. It is fit for the larger world, and was conceived with a wide perspective.

This is the psychologic moment for us to offer and for the world to receive our constructive ethics. The War has disheartened men in essential expectations. Government has collapsed where it is needed most. Sinister threats fulminate and the spectre of Bolshevism stalks over large tracts of ruined Europe. Perversions of moral values dominate and the sane order of Law must seek refuge behind the sword. Men hunger for justice, and even those who are maddened by the untoward conditions evince pathetic eagerness after the Right. Dr. Wise was right. Judaism could now come to its own. The opportunity has come when it can serve an eager and confused world. We can give to Reconstruction its soul. Civilization can be restored on the basis of ethics. And this new ethics must not be opportunistic, for of that we have had enough and to spare. It must be a religious theory of life and a religious plan of normal life. It must come out of human nature, which is the original and the indestructible investiture of man.

Men differ and will always differ. Difference may tantalize them, but they are also a spur and an incentive. And all differences are moral. I care not what the differences be, they are interpretations of life. The dispute between capital and labor, between shop and office, between employer and employed, between parties and sects, on their relevance, merit, efficacy, truth, centres about a moral ideal. It is the moral that is attacked or defended. It is the morals that are blamed. Society

will wage an internecine warfare as long as there is inner inconsistency, as long as morality has not taken its place at the centre of the social life where it rightfully ought to be.

In this Judaism is prototypical. The Jewish people have crystallized, as it were, about morals. Judaism is not a faith, it is a dynamic. It is a moral force within. It has built up the Jewish community. Not, as some seem to think, that the Jewish community adopted it. It was never outside, as a Constitution is or a code of laws. It grew out of the souls of the Jewish people. Vital ethics cannot do otherwise. The world needs such a spontaneous, natural morality. It is tired of discipline and programs. It wants democracy. And Judaism is democratized ethics.

This ethics must be made available beyond the limits of our Jewish communities. For I believe it will restore the world to order, to law, to sanity. Here the great occasion of our "mission" has come. We have taken pains to show that what we believe is acceptable. Now let us disseminate our ethics. Not because it is ours, but because it is true, true to human nature, which may be disconcerted but cannot be suppressed. We should stop being merely pastoral exhorters, and begin to contribute to the moral redemption of the world. There are innumerable current questions that vex the world, which we could solve by the genius of our ethical insight. It is not in vain that we have passed through the training centuries. We have become ethicalized, and we shall be giving back to the world what it had forced on us through the school of pain and sorrow and warm-hearted isolation. We have always been a people of priests and preachers, but now we have a sacrament and a sermon not only out of our, but also out of the world's life.

Let us tell the world not what we believe, for they know that, but what we are. And what we are is more appealing and more convincing and more of a spur. I suggest that we produce an inner picture, as it were, of our soul, not of that pathetic soul which was torn and pierced and grieved and humiliated, but of that serene soul which has stamina and loyalty and dash and braved the world and forced it into toleration and is vigorous now more than ever to demand a compensating and lasting and

sincere justice. That would be a proof such as the Jewish people could well have afforded before, and, if given now, would evidence its worth, its vitality, and its fitness. And more than that, it would proselytize, it would evoke approval that leads to emulation. We have only one kind of a mission, that is the mission of our morality. To persuade the world to emulate the virtues we have and to make these virtues the spring-board for civilization, that is the messianic achievement we have dreamt, our prophets have forecast and our martyr-history has sustained.

I would suggest that this Conference assign to a Committee the task of submitting to it a draft of Jewish ethics, not with a view of polemics or apologetics, but in order that it may be made available for the vexing questions of the American life. Communism, socialism, individualism, nationalism, internationalism and the many other claimants to attention are easily brushed away as pretenders just as soon as their ethics are tested. And I add that this Committee devise a plan by which the ethical insight of the Jew be brought to bear upon the current questions and Judaism become a forceful influence on modern life.

II

THE MODERN RABBI

This may seem like a new departure. But in reality it is only a return to a historic and traditional function. It does not involve a reform either of the rabbinate or of the congregation. The theological cast of mind misleads us in such a surmise, and our theological habit we borrowed from Christianity. There is no reason in the Jewish world why stress should be laid on the sermon and the public function be ignored. There is no reason why the ministry need be inert and dignifiedly inactive. In other professions opportunity is a thorn in the soul. Real ministration wants to enlarge knowledge, and a real zeal wants clarity, and is forever pushing forward for discovery in the open field. Why not the teacher of religion? The rabbinate worthy of its opportunities and the confidence of the public, like all students of life, evinces a similar ambition and assiduity.

Shall rabbinical training be restive and impatient under the thraldom of an official tradition that stands for static religion? Shall the reform that has been so loud everywhere else not be heard in the academic halls? Shall the education of the rabbi be as antique as his title? And this in the face of the new life and the new needs? The rabbi of today does not function in a segregated and isolated community. He lives in the midst of a stressful environment that challenges him in all directions. He cannot afford to disdain the actual. He cannot afford to indulge in remoteness. It would be calamitous to the congregations as much as to the rabbinate to stand aloof. Sedate piety and static faith must be pushed out of the way. They belong to a time when inert contemplation was a virtue. Today it is a waste of energy. Fact makes truth, not "truth" fact. Religion is a thing of flesh and blood. It has been that always, but never before as avowedly.

The subjects a student learns are products of life and study means the re-discovery of life. In the courses in theological institutions, the standard of choice has shifted from the metaphysical to social valuations. A study is commendable according to the degree in which it fuses with the life of the student, according to the moral content it has. A rabbi's life and his culture are, in the first place, human and his needs and his interests are personal, are like everybody else's. At any rate, life is no longer cloisteral, or reminiscent. Study should vitalize and stir the character. Study is a moral discipline.

Eager, expectant young men want to have a grasp upon life, upon the problems of their own lives and upon the problems of those with whom they are. Study can never be neutral. If it is fit for instruction, it is that only because it is fit for influence. The value of scholarship such as academic institutions like to evoke, does not lie in the possession of facts, but in the ability to control them for the purposes of life. The business of the teacher is to awaken and to sustain moral interests, to interpret knowledge that it might become living. The elementary principle holds in the education of the ministry, as in all education, that training is influence. Teachers make their personality tell in the pupil. And they achieve something else. They reproduce life

and do not leave it merely reminiscent. Language, literature, philosophy, theology are only reports of the life that once was. They are not living in themselves and resurrect only under the human touch. Ministerial institutions may not be detached from the teeming life of the working world. For otherwise their students may become bewildered when they enter upon their public duties and may be forced to spend precious years in confusion.

It is entirely within the province of this Conference to give thought to this subject. For we must provide in the first place, that our membership be homogenous as to vision, and in the second place, that the communities for which we have a corporate responsibility, be adequately equipped for the organization of the Jewish life. I suggest that a Commission, in conjunction with the Advisory Board, submit to this Conference an exhaustive report on the subject of the training of the rabbinate and its adequacy for the Social Interpretation of Judaism and the Socializing Function of the Jewish Congregation.

III

THE RABBI AS TEACHER

But the rabbi is a teacher. I fear that, in the main, this statement is only formally true. In the first place, the prime condition for teaching is that it be methodic, continuous and frankly disciplinary. But modern preaching is none of these. It is occasional in theme and its place in the midst of the ritual requires that it be edification rather than training. And in the second place, teaching, that is the instruction of the young, is an incident in the rabbinate and not, as it should be, its supreme interest. The pulpit is not a teacher's desk. It declares absolute truth, it voices the common conscience and it is spokesman for essential needs. But it addresses adults whose intellectual vision and moral grasp are matter-of-fact. The addition of the lecture has not extended the pedagogic efficiency of the rabbi; it has secularized his public address and has not intensified that spiritual quality which should distinguish it.

But teaching is essential in his life, that finely humble, sympathetic and wise teaching which lodges in men's souls. The

rabbi should always look twenty-five years ahead. It is the children of his congregation, those who, under his fatherly influence, grow into religious interests and into the tradition of their fathers, to whom he bears his prime responsibility. To them and, through them, to Israel. Teaching has the farthest reach and the deepest going influence. But for this the rabbi of today is least prepared. He enters upon his duties as a teacher without technical preparation and must pick up the elementary knowledge of the school from promiscuous experience. There is no place in the Jewish ministry for the dilettante, least of all in the responsible function of teaching.

I urge with all the earnestness I can convey that this Conference delay not one moment to give to the subject of Teaching as a Preparation of the Rabbi its most scrupulous thought and that a committee of this Conference draft a plan, for im-

IV mediate application, if possible, or for full and all-around discussion, so that the rabbis of the new period, which is, I say it with satisfaction, a period of moralized enlightenment, secure adequate training in the art of teaching and be capable of organizing and sustaining the Religious School, that great arm of our moral life.

THE SYNAGOG

The denudation of the synagog of its communal activities has been proceeding very precipitously during the last fifty years. It began with the organization of the Jewish Orders and it has culminated in the Federation of the Charities. The synagog has been reduced to the status of mere ritualism, an intolerable limitation. The new rabbinate has an epoch-making task before it. It must restore the synagog to the place it once occupied, and it must give back to Judaism the moral dynamics it had. But in addition it must re-invest the rabbinate with functions that call for virility of the highest order. It is asserted that the social agencies have gained by the detachment from the synagog in their freedom to systematize their work unimpeded by well-meaning but confused sentiment. But the opposite is true. For they draw for support upon the moral interest of the Jewish

community which they can neither create nor sustain. Jewish solidarity is at the heart of all the agencies of Jewish Welfare. The agencies draw their moral sap out of it. The fountains of our moral life flow from an ancient spring, but what do these agencies or societies do to replenish it? Diffusion is death.

This condition should be of the utmost concern to the rabbinate. To be sure, the re-alignment of the many and diversified societies to the synagog can be brought about neither by appeals nor by revolution. They render respectable and efficient service and their detachment is not altogether chargeable to arbitrary aloofness. It is the logical development in a country in which religion is old and the necessities are new. Perhaps traditional religion was not pliant enough. Perhaps the pioneers in social service saw only the need and nothing beyond. Perhaps, too, the rabbis yielded to the push of enterprise and mistook that for a larger Judaism. Anyway, we are facing a condition today which imperils the unity of the Communal synagog already assaulted insidiously by the modernist environment. We should trace the causes of the disintegration as a first step in the Re-form. The Reconstruction of the Synagog demands that the fraternal, charitable and educational agencies return to the synagog so that they may jointly cultivate the Jewish spirit within it.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

We should be wanting in a right measure of the significance of the war which has come to an end, if we should appraise its motive as well as its consequences from a separatist point of view. It matters comparatively little that we Jews will eventually be given that justice which we have craved for so long and for which we have suffered a barren martyrdom for centuries. But it matters very much that civilization be purged of the evil influences which had bungled, retarded and perverted that all inclusive Justice which is the hope and the right of every man. For, after all, we have never demanded preferential treatment and we have made our sacrifices on the battlefield, and at home, in this war and in all the wars in which we have participated in the tragic history of wrongs to bring redemption, far beyond

the limited numbers of the Jewish people, to the world at large. No settlement of the Jewish difficulty is satisfactory to Jews or final unless it is at the same time a settlement of the moral difficulties of mankind. This uniquely far-sighted war has, indeed, expressed the moral genius of Judaism, both in its aspiration during stress and in the prospect of world-extensive liberation at its close. The formation of a League of Nations seems to us the fulfilment of the prophecy, the assurance of that confidence in human nature which sustained our fathers in anxious patience, and the realization of the religious program, projected so clearly by Maimonides on lines of rabbinical tradition, culminating in the Messianic Day.

In accordance with this spirit the following Appeal was addressed on January 10, 1919, to the Representatives of the United States at the Peace Conference in Paris:

Appeal to the Representatives of the United States at the Peace Conference.

The Conference of American Rabbis most respectfully submits the following to you and, through your kind offices, to the members of the Conference of Allied Nations now assembled in Paris:

1. As spokesmen of Justice, organized into the dispensation of Moses, and of the moral worth of human life, as expressed in the idealism of Isaiah, we welcome the epochal assembly of the European and American peoples and offer them our confidence in the performance of their great task.

2. Knowing that the Peace Congress will lay down principles that express the conscience of a re-awakened world and will earnestly and sincerely demand their equitable application, we call attention to the unfortunate condition of the Jews in Russia, Poland, Galicia, Roumania, Palestine, Turkey and Eastern countries. These Jews, though native to the soil, faithful in the performance of their civic duties, and useful to the weal and progress of their respective countries, are debarred from the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship and are not infrequently victimized by unjust discriminations and malicious persecutions. We believe that an adjustment of these

wrongs will not only redeem the Jews who have been grievously harassed, but also those governments whose re-organization is one of the tasks of the Peace Conference.

3. It is pathetic that we must ask the Peace Conference to draw the Jewish Question into consideration in its decision as to the reliability of these nations which are demanding political independence and enrollment in the comity of nations. But no nation is worthy of confidence and the partnership of other nations unless it binds itself to an all-inclusive justice and is responsible to the combined conscience, sincerity and intelligence of the world.

4. We have the utmost faith in the justness of democratic organization. We feel, therefore, that the rehabilitation of Palestine, which is uniquely desired by Jews, should be arranged upon the foundation of freedom. We desire for that land liberty and equality of all in opportunity and civic obligation and respect and protection of the conscience, in accordance with the all-inclusive justice of the civilized world. The Holy Land, in fact, should be exemplary for civilization.

The Central Conference of American Rabbis.

LOUIS GROSSMANN, *President,*
LOUIS WOLSEY, *Secretary.*

Jan. 10, 1919.

And on February 7, 1919, the American Commissioners replied as follows:

AMERICAN COMMISSION TO NEGOTIATE PEACE.
PARIS, FEBRUARY 7, 1919.

Rabbis Louis Grossmann, President,
Louis Wolsey, Secretary,

Central Conference of American Rabbis,
Euclid Avenue Temple, Cleveland, Ohio.

GENTLEMEN:

By direction, I beg to acknowledge receipt of the appeal which, in behalf of the Conference of American Rabbis, you addressed to the Representatives of the United States at the Peace Conference on January 10, 1919.

In this appeal the support of the American Commissioners is sought to bring about an adjustment of the wrongs suffered by Jews in Russia, Poland, Galicia, Roumania, Palestine, Turkey and Eastern countries, as well as the rehabilitation of Palestine.

The appeal has had the attentive reading of the American Commissioners, who desire me to inform you that in conformity with the spirit of American institutions it will be their pleasure to use their utmost endeavor to obtain for all peoples equality of treatment in accordance with their determined rights without regard to race or religious beliefs.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,
J. C. GREW, *Secretary.*

It is gratifying to state that this Reply of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace is, up to the date of this Message, their only public expression upon this important subject. It is, you will observe, an earnest and sincere concession that the requests submitted by this Conference are just and will lead to very wide reaching results.

I suggest that this Conference express its appreciation of the spirit manifested by the American Commission to Negotiate Peace and the Representatives of the Nations represented in the Paris Conference, now deliberating on national readjustments and to President Wilson for his brave insistence to consummate a Covenant of a Durable World Peace, and to reassure both him and them that we regard the League of Nations as a promise of universal reconstruction not only in the politics but also of the morals of the world.

V

Since then a Commission consisting of Messrs. Henry Morgenthau, Julius Kahn, Oscar S. Straus, and Daniel P. Hays, has gone to Paris for the purpose of interceding with the members of the Peace Conference to incorporate a clause definitely securing complete emancipation and enfranchisement of all Jews everywhere. Your President empowered this Commission to represent this Conference, assured them of its full confidence in the trust that has been remitted to them and asked them to co-operate with the delegates of England and France

to bring about the complete emancipation, democratization and unquestioned equality of all Jews in all lands.

On March 18, 1919, accordingly the following was addressed to the Secretary of the Commission:

RABBI ISAAC LANDMAN:

The Central Conference of American Rabbis received a few days ago a reply to its recent Appeal from the American Commission to Negotiate Peace at Paris, as follows:

"The Appeal has had the attentive reading of the American Commissioners who desire to inform you that in conformity with the spirit of American Institutions it will be their pleasure to use their utmost endeavor to obtain for all peoples equality of treatment in accordance with their determined rights without regard to race or religious beliefs."

This Reply of the Commissioners is obviously very satisfactory. But it would be good to have this incorporated into the Covenant of the League of Nations. Since Messrs. Morgenthau, Kahn, Straus and Hays are going to Paris, with you as Secretary, for this purpose, please announce to them this message of mine and ask them to represent the Central Conference of American Rabbis in their co-operation with the delegates of England and France, to bring about the complete emancipation, democratization and unquestioned equality of all Jews in all lands.

LOUIS GROSSMANN, *President.*

THE REHABILITATION OF PALESTINE.

You will observe that the notes exchanged include the proposal of the rehabilitation of Palestine. While this part of the subject is regarded as a phase of political restoration in which, as in the case of the other lands, Jews shall be given the guarantees of law and order and the exercise of the franchise of free citizenship, it has an additional significance for us because it affects the land of our classic and ancient dignity and its recent resettlement which had its origin in religious romance and in

admirable moral stamina. If anywhere, surely in the land of our fathers, life should be free from the hardships of body and soul. In a country idealized through aloofness from sordid business and through the religious imagination of sincere devotees, government should be chastened with reverence and democracy become a spiritual faith. Still it is a country that has lapsed into decadence because of unscrupulous neglect and because of a hesitation born of fear lest reconstruction become desecration.

All this the war has dissipated. Usurpation has been overthrown and reconstruction is being planned with utmost respect. We Jews have a profound reason to take an active interest in this rehabilitation of the holy land. It is our pride, as the parental home always is to children, though they may, nay just because they have, wandered far into new places. The colonizers also of the new Palestine who with pioneer hardihood braved the irresponsible Turk and endured much vexation earn our admiration and our sympathy.

The Jews of this country, always alert to the call of justice, will, I am sure, respond to the appeal for the rehabilitation of Palestine with genuine sentiment and generous sacrifice. This rehabilitation and economic, industrial and communal organization, however, must be undertaken so as to raise the value of life, lengthen its tenure, and sustain the love of home in Palestine in the same degree and the same spirit as in all other countries where Jews have free and unhampered opportunity to exercise privileges and enjoy rights to commerce and labor. I recommend that this Conference express its sincere desire to contribute in whatever way it can toward this consummation.

VI

PRAYERBOOK

I take gratification in the fact that the revision of the First Volume of the Prayer Book has been completed and is ready for distribution, and that the revision of the Second Volume has progressed far enough to warrant the hope that it will be published at an early date. An attempt was made to supply a Book of Devotion and Prayers for the use of the Soldiers and Sailors in the camps and cantonments and a Committee, under the

chairmanship of Rabbi I. S. Moses, submitted an acceptable manuscript for the purpose. Circumstances, however, prevented its publication and distribution. There may be a need, however, of a Prayer Book for the soldiers and sailors in the Army of Occupation and also for those in permanent service. Jewish soldiers and sailors are likely to be abroad for a considerable time, and may comprise an appreciable number in the Standing Army and Navy which the U. S. Government is about to organize. The character, the form and even the content of the worship of these men differs from that of civilians, so that our Union Prayer Book would hardly be adequate to their needs. I suggest that either the Committee on Revision or a Special Committee submit to the members of the Conference, as soon as practicable, a Military and Naval Prayer Book for the use of Chaplains and those in the U. S. Service.

VII

THE OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES

It affords me satisfaction to report that the officers and committees have been assiduously at work. It would be invidious to single out some for special recognition, and I am sure the thanks of the Conference are extended to them equally in the most appreciative sense. You will allow me, however, to mention the Secretary, Rabbi Wolsey, as deserving of your sincerest gratitude, as he deserves mine, for his unflagging devotion to the interests of the Conference, and for his tireless labors in a correspondence which has increased to formidable proportions. I feel that my efforts would have been wanting in essential quality if I had not had his assistance and sagacious advice. The creditable character of the Year Book you have received is an added evidence of the efficiency of its editor, Rabbi Marcuson, and I attest my appreciation here most gladly.

CONCLUSION

The spirit of this session is unique. Aside of its marking the completion of our thirtieth year, it is reminiscent of the great man we respect and love. We are bringing him the tribute he

has earned, and are spurred on by the memory of his zeal and large-heartedness. Let the affection which we share hold us together in equal loyalty to the sacred cause that has fallen out of his hands into ours. We meet, while the nation is emerging out of the shadow of a great tragedy and entering into an unfolding, brighter day. Let us as sponsors of the peace that is unstained by wrong give our conscience to its preservation and enhancement. We are obligated as citizens before we assume the duties of our profession and there is a moral union of our civic and religious obligation which enforces our citizenship and chastens our faith. The days of anxiety are over. But the days of a new devotion have come. Let us be firm in our resolve that this nation shall have a rebirth in moral vigor and broad scoped good will, and let us, as teachers of the hope of mankind, strengthen one another's hands so that the Temple of Peace be built securely on the safe foundation of Justice and Reverence.

B

CONFERENCE LECTURE

JONAH B. WISE

We are again assembled in solemn conclave to further the work which, by God's providence, has been entrusted to our hands. All of us have been deeply moved and greatly strengthened by the events of the past week. Our solemn assembly has missed the counsel and encouragement of those who once sat with us but are now a part of the Academy on High. Since last we met we have suffered losses we can but feebly bear and our hearts reecho the plaint of the bereaved as we note in this High Festival an empty chair. The wisdom that foresaw the value of this assemblage has been proven from year to year. That sentiment of modesty which rightly prevents our vaunting the worth of our individual efforts would be false and misleading if it led us to undervalue the importance of this gathering to Judaism and the Jew. A circumstance that brings me honor, which my powers by no means merit, has prompted you to assign me the privilege and task of addressing you this evening. That it is a privilege needs but be stated to be demonstrated; that it is a task does not imply it an unwelcome one.

As rabbis in Israel we are consecrated to a noble interpretation of human life. That we are capable of understanding or bearing the gifts to men with which God has entrusted His priests does not fully lie with us to decide, but is involved in the destiny of Israel which our individual opinions can but slightly sway. No one living in this day of man's realization of his strength and his weakness, of his experience of the results of his lusts and his love, can stand unmoved before the spectacle of great sorrow that mingles with an even greater hope. Together

with all right thinking men we must turn our faces to the rising sun and welcome as a new day the opportunity that lies before us. Never has Israel been more fortunate. It may seem paradoxical to say that our people are happy in their present condition. The paradox is more apparent than real. The night which now enshrouds the world finds us suffering equally with other men, but it also finds us, as its darkness merges into light, equally inspired with zeal for the work that is ready to our hands.

Israel is a teacher of religion. It is distinctive even in that class, since it teaches lessons refined and thrice forged in the furnace of centuries of unparalleled devotion to ideals. If we are incapable of interpreting man's suffering as a means of life, who among the races and groups of men can speak that word? Lowly and powerless the Jew has been the classic sufferer for thousands of years. His fate has been accepted willingly, nay, invited, since he had but to turn to any one of a number of doors to find a ready exit from the gloom and sorrow of the ghetto to the light and joy of the outside world.

A sentiment stronger that his desire for self-advancement, aye, even stronger than his love for his children, has held him to his own. It has kept intact an allegiance which entailed only sorrow. There must be a nobler strain in man than his historian knows, a better reason for his actions than that supposed by science. Israel is a concrete of love for a brotherhood that entailed great sacrifice yet called forth great loyalty. As teachers to such a people we are doubly blessed, we can sum up for them the experience that should be a part of their lives, and making it such, enrich the lives of the men and women amongst whom they live.

We Jews are consecrated by a distinctive past to an intelligent understanding and consequently a fine interpretation of human suffering. Faithfulness to ourselves alone is no part of history or our nature. In that we are fortunate. What we have we offer to all men and women, what we are we accept as our own burden. We should know best that great zeal springs from great humility. In the darkest hour of Israel's thought a genius wrote an elegy which, like all great elegies, promised a resurrection. The author

of the Book of Lamentations sees hope in the sorrow he depicts in that he says,

> "It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth,
> Let him sit alone and keep silence
> Because He has laid it upon him:
> Let him put his mouth in the dust,
> If so there may be hope.
> Let him give his cheek to him that smiteth him.
> Let him be filled full with reproach."
> —(Lamentations III, 27ff.)

On all sides of us the world is filled full with reproach. At every altar the penitents swarm with their sores and sorrows. It is a broken and disconsolate mass that loiters about the discredited temples that once promised salvation. The militarist can claim no right to his way of life, for armaments have but led us well nigh to ruin. The financier can no longer claim that he holds the world in one great community of interest since great stakes have lured him from the caution in which we trusted. Religion is the greatest of all penitents because it promised much and accomplished little. Men work, however, better with the tools to which they have grown accustomed. We dare not cast them aside, but we can use them in a better manner. Religion is one of man's most used implements. With it he has hewn down forests and built cathedrals. With it he has painted pictures and carved great statues. It is the pen with which he has written poetry and song, and the sword which he has most firmly grasped. To relegate so powerful a factor in human life to an inferior place, to disregard it is to assume a grave risk. Washington said: "No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand which conducts the affairs of men more than the people of the United States".

It is indeed true that the inspiration coming from religion sent the earliest permanent settlers to America and influenced them in their development of the new country. It is undoubtedly true that no force has so inspired individuals and groups as has religion. It is equally a fact that the teachings of faith have too

often profited by a rigorous past. The grim courage and fearless zeal of generations whom faith inspired, laid up a treasure which an easier day has frittered away in snug living and nice comparisons. Israel still suffers in every land. Therefore in Israel there should be such restlessness that will lead the Jew first to the altar as the most contrite penitent.

We are entering the month of Nisan. Of all festivals, that of the Passover is supremely dedicated to human freedom. As we are convinced that man is entering upon a new era so we should feel that the Passover has not a new, but a renewed significance. Of all figures that have dominated the imagination of Israel, none stands out more distinctly than that of Elijah. He and his disciple, armed with the Master's spirit, did those miracles which men have acclaimed as marking the true prophet. The tradition of his second coming is the folk faith in God and the justice of His universe. His biography is a tale of the people and as such indicates the people's belief. The miracles and hero incidents are but the grateful contributions of the lowly to ornament the figure that stood first and foremost for them. This hero in Israel is such because he stands in Jewish legend and thought for great courage and noble sacrifice for truth. He is the type of that high loyalty which is necessary to make men free and bring them happiness. He prophesied evil against the land, became an exile and the ravens fed him. He stood against error and falsehood, one man against eight hundred and fifty, was outlawed, but the angel guided and supported him. He faced tyranny and lust in the high places and was called a "Troubler of Israel". He stood for the ancient law that protected the people's rights against their despoiler and oppressor, the king, who recognized him as the one force that stood opposed, immoveable and firm with the cry, "Hast thou met me, O mine enemy?" There can be no nobler appreciation of the life of Israel, no greater triumph for its martyred and defeated sons than a high resolve on the part of its teachers and their descendants that the Jew shall stand for such righteousness that greed, intolerance and lust shall greet that lonely figure with the cry, "Hast thou met me, O mine enemy?"

The Greek has ordered man's thought of the physical world.

The philosopher of ancient Hellas has sifted the dust of the earth through his fingers, tried to find out what constituted its particles and from that knowledge built cosmos. From Athens and Stagira we have received such benefits that no man can weigh them. Science has comforted but has not saved us. Human salvation depends on more than knowledge. The Jew's idea has a function and a wider field than ever it had in the past. Greek and Jew are not antitheses, but complements in the world's progress. There is not even a need for reconciling them. The Jew's message must bind man to man so that a common estimate of life may enrich for all the common benefits of the world.

A fear exists in the hearts of some men that liberal Judaism is an exit from the Jewish fold. Nothing could be further from the truth. Our interpretation is in no sense a path to oblivion. We cherish every ideal that has made our past noble and brought our ancestors glory and sorrow. Ours is neither a different way of life nor a strange doctrine. Our purpose is as closely knit to the past as the most carefully preserved tradition. "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One", has the same rich connotation for us as for any Jew. We yield to no group or generation in Israel in devotion to the word of God. Our conviction causes us as it has caused others, however, to find stronger grounds for other convictions as well.

The message of Israel has never been complete. Religion has followed as naturally the progress of humanity in the arts, sciences and experiences, as has the shadow the sun upon the dial. It is of all grave errors the gravest to presume that religion fell meteor-like from heaven some thousands of years ago and has since remained unchanged. It is equally absurd to presume of Judaism that it can be defined or described in a few words as if it had been the same to all men in all generations. Kingdoms come and kingdoms go, but Israel stands forever, says the *Midrasch Rabbah* to Koheleth. The message received from one generation is passed on to its successor enriched and amplified by the priceless addition of fearless application. Our religion so enriched and so amplified is sufficient reason for our existence. The Law does not change; the commentary varies according to the needs of men. As bearers of the Law we have

been shut off from the world. To perpetuate this ghetto is to deny our faith and to refuse God's service for which His providence had prepared us. There are some who say this separateness must continue else we shall disappear. A timid counsel bids us buttress the walls which our fellow men are destroying. The advance of culture and liberalism is destroying the barriers against which we rebelled for centuries. It seems a misguided effort that would feverishly rebuild from within with the rubbish of the crumbling prisons the gloomy pale of Jewish isolation. Such an admission of weakness is a poor reason for perpetuating us as a world phenomenon. A prophet of the exile depicted Israel as the pitifully misunderstood. He spoke of us then as despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with disease as one from whom men hide their faces, as one wounded because of our transgressions and crushed because of our iniquities. While the Jew may owe his isolation partly to his own preference based on religion and race, it is more the result of intolerance, which for two thousand years has oppressed him. His true value lies in a spirit that could not be crushed.

It is inconceivable that this spirit should be suddenly broken by the removal of the restrictions against which he has so gallantly struggled. A polity based on prejudice cannot do justice to the humble courage and refinement of soul which has preserved our faith and people. Our own preference, if any, arose from a fear that we lose that possession which has made us feel the responsibility of an idealized trust, the treasured ideas of truth.

> "The spirit of the Lord God is upon me,
> Because the Lord has anointed me to
> Bring good tidings to the humble.
> He has sent me to bind up the broken hearted,
> To proclaim liberty to the captives
> And the opening of the eyes to them that are bound."
> —(Isaiah LXI, 1)

The measure of man's social progress will be the power of his spirit. As his soul rises so will the message of deliverance from

all forms of oppression and falsehood prevail. If any group is endowed with the will to spiritual social growth, that group is my people. Dr. Kaufman Kohler, the venerable and revered head of the Hebrew Union College, says:

"The truth of the matter is that the end and aim of Judaism is not so much the salvation of the human soul in the hereafter as the salvation of humanity in history." (Jewish Theology, p. 6.)

We often speak of American Judaism as prophetic. No man can read the message of prophecy without being stirred by its cry for the needs and rights of men. Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah and their fellows called down upon their beloved certain destruction because they had deserted God in forsaking their fellow men. "I, the Lord, love justice", is a cry that rallied the remnants of the exile. The figure of Amos standing in the glittering temple of wealth, conquest and greed and calling down the wrath of God on the self-righteous is no passing thing, no mirage, but is a fact chiseled from the very rock on which our humanity is founded. To me, one of the most dramatic comments on the age-long wail for justice is the son of the starved and cheated, the prophet of Tekoa, as he hurls his challenge into the camp of the oppressor. Amos had cried in the cathedrals of his day against the mitred plenipotentiaries of king and noble. His great petulance had attacked the songs of priests and Levites as noises unwelcome to God. His irony had scored the sacrifices of fat beasts as unwelcome to the Creator and his voice had thundered forth,

"Let justice well up as waters and righteousness as a mighty stream." (Amos V.)

The day had to come when his mighty spirit had to face the cool cynicism of intrenched and official religion. Amaziah, the priest of Beth El, had complained to his royal master and had been authorized to get rid of the disturber. He bids him begone with the usual phrases—

"Flee thee away to the land of Judah, there eat bread and prophesy there: but prophesy here no longer for this is the king's sanctuary, it is a royal house."

The simple diction of the Scripture leaves to our imagination the towering contempt of the inspired seer as he answers: "I was not a prophet, neither was I the son of a prophet, but I was a herdsman and a dresser of sycamore trees: and the Lord took me from following the flock and the Lord said unto me, 'Go prophesy to this people Israel', and thou sayest, 'Prophesy not against this people Israel and preach not against the house of Isaac'. Therefore thus saith the Lord, 'Thy wife shall be a harlot in the city and thy sons and thy daughters shall fall by the sword, thy land shall be divided by line, thou thyself shall die in an unclean country and Israel shall surely be led away captive out of this land'." (Amos VII, 16ff.)

If we are teachers of prophetic Judaism, we are consecrated to a task that is neither easy nor simple. That our people are gone astray is as much our fault as theirs. We have the inspiring message that should rally them to their cause. If they fail in their duty it is because we are derelict in our sacred office. We are in very fact a people elected by God, if we are energized by great humanity. We dare not say to them "Prophesy not".

"In times when man was conscious of his weakness in regard to his environment, the most hopeless situation could be accepted as the will of God or as a decree of fate. But the modern man, with his consciousness of power and of his obligations to the community, cannot reject the idea of the moral solidarity of all. He must, therefore, concern himself with the general condition of mankind and must display active interest in that direction." (Eucken, *Ethics and Modern Thought,* p. 76.) Judaism does not render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's. It resists evil and brings good tidings to the humble. The world of conscience in human affairs is under deep obligation to the Jewish thought. The history of Europe and America shows clearly a dependence, in critical times, on the sturdy moral axioms of the Old Testament. A translation of the Bible has been a direct accompaniment or has immediately preceded every positive demand for human betterment. Modern ethics is directly descended from a long line of Judaized thinking. Even the new religious movements, immediately around us, adapting themselves to the needs

of the hour, while they may profess the Epistles, think the Synoptics. The doctrine of the right to fight against injustice, typified in the prophets' zeal for righteousness, is so clearly a human instinct that no repression by dogma or practice stifles it. Men may not call themselves by the name of Jacob, but they react, by the fact of their natural intuition, to the fundamental concepts of Israel.

Just as our modern world, turning its machinery with electricity, taking its energy from the heavens must drop one wire to the magnetizing earth: so does man in our environment propose high purpose being galvanized morally by the Old Testament.

The stage of the world is set in a multitude of shifting scenes. Europe and America are watching the actors as they declaim, waiting for the voice that shall cry Justice and Peace. In this drama, upon a lesser stage, we have been actors for twenty centuries. What place shall be assigned to the tragedy of Israel can be answered by the Jews of this generation. Rabbi Chanina ben Teradyon went to the stake wrapped in the scrolls of the Law. Our convictions are equally grounded on the priceless treasure of the Torah. If Judaism is to endure and the Jew to survive, we must be ready to assume our share of the world sorrow in the name of a reasoned purpose. To persist simply as an ethnic accident is to be intolerable to the world and to ourselves. We are convinced as a part of our religious belief that we are not a race curio, but a part of an ordered world with definite reason and purpose. It is not the function of religion to weave a shroud of mystery about human life. It is essentially its business to unravel the meshes of human relations.

True, the message of Justice and Peace is but a part of the theme of faith. It is, however, a positive command that cannot be evaded. It is a point of contact between Jewish life and modern thought. Judaism can interpret life to the Jew in the light of modern needs because Israel has cried continually for just that which now urges men forward. Now is the time to assemble all the forces that made Israel prophetic to rally men again to the call that produced the cry in the wilderness of sin and cruelty that has rived men's souls.

Man is a being superior to his mere flesh. The spirit will determine the bounds of his progress. In the fight for the things that shall bring the power of the spirit to its full fruition, it is neither intended nor desired that Israel will stand alone. Here we find a great comradeship that will welcome us, as we step out of the ruined shelters of the times that were; a fellowship in which we shall be proud to march shoulder to shoulder with our fellow men, a great, disciplined, ethical force.

C

THE PROPHET IN ISRAEL—CONFERENCE SERMON

LOUIS WOLSEY

II Kings IV, 42-44

In the traditional Haphtarah for this Sabbath, we read the quaint story of the miracle of the twenty loaves of bread that Elisha distributed to one hundred men, who thus had "sufficient to eat and more"—according to the word of the Lord. "Give to the people that they may eat; for thus saith the Eternal: they shall eat and shall leave thereof." The man brings his gift to the prophet. It was composed of twenty loaves of bread, made from the first-fruits of the harvest. The man of God, instead of using it for self, generously makes a sacrifice whereby he may satiate the hunger of the people.

The simple act of Elisha reveals to us what must be the function and purpose of the prophet: (1) He must be self-forgetting; (2) and he must serve the people.

I. THE PROPHET'S MINISTRY

The prophet's ministry may mean hunger and want for himself; it may mean the abandonment of luxury, material power, affluence and all things by which this world lays great store; but in the ecstasy of his self-surrender, and the dedication of life to a cause, he has given himself an authority, to speak in the name of God. The corollary is likewise true. When he subordinates the cause to ambition, when he puts self in the fore, and his mission in the background, he ceases to have the right to speak for God. When he exploits, instead of serves the people, when

he uses them as rungs upon a professional ladder upon which he essays to climb into popularity and fame, then he ceases to be a prophet. He is simply an ordinary seeker of glory, a time-server to whom the applause of an audience is more to be desired than the sacred task of feeding it with the first-fruits of a divine harvest.

The classic prophet of humanity has been Israel. It has been his conception of his own place and function to give divine bread unto a hungry world. His call came not that he might achieve a place in the sun or win glory, but that he should serve in spite of what might be his fate. The rabbis tell us that Israel was selected because his progenitors were oppressed and persecuted. Immunity from suffering was not to be his reward; nay, because he had a truth to tell, a service to render, a mission to realize, a sobering message to deliver to not alone an unwilling but a truculent world, was Israel to function as prophet. Others might have the first-fruits and the loaves of barley and the fresh ears of grain; it was enough that they were fed; the prophet may be rewarded with ingratitude or with Naaman's scepticisms, or with taunt and ridicule for his physical infirmities; it was the service that justified the patience, and the good he did which would atone for his self-denials. If the cause were set forth, if the message were thundered to a hostile audience whose self-interest was threatened, it was sufficient for a prophet to whom the message was more important than the messenger. The self-denial became in the highest sense a self-realization.

To be sure the thought is an ideal. Many a time through Israel's checkered history, it was not lived up to. The difficulty of reconciling a physical bondage and a yellow badge with a prophetic self-surrender caused the Jew ofttimes to lose faith in self and God. Denied ordinary human dignity in the ghetto of the world, he bid with money for the honors of the synagog's service. Forbidden the salons of Europe and the pride of their social equality, he frequently forsook the faith. Refused the career of political distinction and ofttimes persecuted by prejudiced governments, he sought to again play a role in the politics of the world. Forgetful of the divine call to the service of justice, righteousness and the moral law, he allowed himself oft-

times to be betrayed into the cults and isms of the new day. But though these aberrations may have affected thousands upon thousands of Jews, *the* Jew still persisted in his belief in the truth of his message and in the fundamental correctness of his religious philosophy.

לא אלמון ישראל Israel has never been quite widowed of self-forgetting leaders and teachers. There has always been the prophet or priest in Israel who immolated self despite the malevolence of his environment. When the sun of Moses set, the sun of Joshua arose. Jerusalem might fall into ashes, but there remained a Jochanan to perpetuate the message and the prophecy. Wise might be translated, but to him was it given to raise up many disciples who would carry on. With the Asmonean, he could exclaim: "Though all peoples should fall away, every one from the religion of their fathers, yet will I and my sons and my brethren walk in the covenant of our fathers. God forbid that we should forsake the Law to depart from our faith either to the right or to the left."

It has not been easy to absorb one's self completely in the Cause. The call to do a service for the sake of heaven, and to sanctify the Name has demanded the completest self-sacrifice and the highest expression of selfless devotion. It is not to be wondered at that many have not risen to the requirements of the prophet's self-abnegation. Some have used the Law as a spade to dig with; some have exploited the prophet's function to win a prophet's reputation. Some have uttered a call or sounded forth a plausible deliverance, not because a prophetic, self-effacing, self-denying motive animated the message, not because the word was like a burning fire within their bones, but because the vision was of the huzzas of the populace, the smiles of the crowd, the adulation of the Philistine, and the power which the fickle multitude entrusts to its flattering misleaders.

To win a place in the sun is a sin not entirely monopolized by the Hohenzollern; to carve out a career is not exclusively a Napoleonic vice. Unfortunately, it is a very human passion from which members even of Israel's household have not been exempt. To many, the winning of a ribbon or a decoration has been an incentive; the passion for place and prominence has not alone

been a lodestar, but a glaring light that has blinded their eyes, and denied them a vision of Israel's divine, world-redeeming truth. Some have compromised with conscience, or have forsaken time-honored traditions and well-evidenced convictions, in order that theirs may be a career. Oh, so many have listened to siren voices, only to let the dry bones of what might be a living message whiten the shores of self-love and material incentives. Some of Israel have exchanged their divine mission for a very selfish commission, and their function as prophet for a worldly glory that profiteth not.

Oh, what a divine faith was that of the Prophet-Psalmist who could hold on to his unselfish faith in the right and God, undiscouraged by the whips and stings of a hating and misunderstanding world, when he exclaimed: כל זאת באתנו ולא שכחנוך "All this has come upon us; yet have we not forgotten Thee, neither have we been false to Thy covenant. Our heart is not turned back, neither have our steps declined from our path." (Psalm XLIV, 18, 19.) That, O Separatist, who can not endure the stigma the hating world attaches to the name of Jew, that is the climax as it is the attitude of a disinterested prophetic enthusiasm.

Israel was to be a kingdom of priests as well as of prophets and teachers. What a deterioration from a lofty ideal when Jewish thought and an apprehension of what it means to be a self-forgetting teacher become, in modern Israel, the property of a profession, the avocation of those who follow a vocation. The democratic wish of a Moses: "Would God that all the people were prophets", was a nobler approximation to Jewish truth. The Word of God is not alone held to be the study of a guild within Israel today, but a redundancy in the lay Jewish life when it does not openly flout or smile at it. The message of Judaism, the noble conception that Israel has been a martyr that he might sanctify the name of God before men, that war and brutality, sin and crime are the concomitants of a religionless and Godless generation, should be the text of *every* Jewish life, and the bold announcement of *every* Jew, no matter what his work in the world. The ancient rabbis were needlemakers, blacksmiths, sandalmakers by profession, but their life was that of

self-forgetting teachers of divine truth, and willing martyrs to God. The failure of every Jew to perceive the divinity of his Jewish tasks and Jewish identity, causes us to make religion the profession of a specific group of men, some of whom succeed to an influence such as only a sandalmaker might win.

Oh, for a Jewish laity that is completely priestly! Oh, for a Jewish community to be led by men of every type and every profession! Within our own company have we heard the well-intended announcement that the rabbi is the only authoritative teacher in Israel, the only one privileged to interpret Jewish truth. Humbly we express it that the thought is un-Jewish, as it should be untrue. Our weakness has been that the indifferent laity has been willing to leave to a group or guild, the teaching of our faith as the necessity of an age of specialization and expertness. When a learned college professor reverently voices his views of and on Judaism, even the spoiled rabbinate heap contumely and acid criticism upon him; when the word, however faulty, as though the rabbi were infallible, should have been given a welcome as the expression of a prophetic willingness to bring his humble beam toward the building of the Jewish house. The old synagog asked anyone from the bench "to ascend" and say the blessing or read the Scripture. Ancient Babylon held assemblies to encourage anyone, no matter what his profession, to stand up and teach, if he had aught to teach. Not a hierarchy, but a heightened laity, was the intention of the Jewish spirit.

It was a logical development of Israel's unique apprehension of the implications of the democratic spirit that gave Reform Judaism to uphold the enfranchisement of woman as a Jewish thought. As Pharisaic Judaism decentralized Jewish practice and took the Passover meal from the central sanctuary into every Jewish home, and taught us that every Jew could be a priest, so was it possible for the Jew to give the world to understand that the religion of the self-forgetting prophet was a religion of the people and for the people.

II

This gives us to understand the unique function and teaching of the Jewish prophet. He was a servant of all the people, and not of a select and aristocratic group. Wherever worldly success and its frequent consequences in consciencelessness developed the sundering of Israel into mutually exclusive classes, the voice of the prophet thundered forth in criticism and in protest. The division into privileged rich and exploited poor, the prophet's soul could never endure. It was a seer who could say: "I will go to the nobles and speak to them." And unto them he announced woe and a doom because they builded their house by unrighteousness, or caused their neighbor to labor without wages and gave him not his pay. What a scathing rebuke of class pride and assumption of superiority because of what they owned, when he could say, "Dost thou call thyself king because thou excellest in cedar?" (Jer. XXII, 15.)

"Give the people that they may eat", not alone that they may eat, אכול והותר but that they have a little more than the mere minimum of sustenance. A religion or a society that does not contemplate the wellbeing of *all* its inhabitants, is a society over which a doom impends. The disinherited and the submerged may rise up to threaten the wealth of those who have made it by selling the righteous for money and the needy for a pair of sandals. The message of the prophets was a democratic deliverance.

Israel was not selected as a favorite of a tribal God. The Cuthites are unto God even as Israel. It is true he had brought Israel out of Egypt, but it was the same love of a democratic God that led the Philistines out of Caphtor and the Aramaeans from Kir. Nay, more in the thought of Amos, Syria, Philistia, Tyre, Moab, and Ammon are on the same basis of a divine condemnation as is Israel, because they all have violated universal ethical principles. The clarion call of the old Jewish prophet was for a democratic organization of life. It was the thought of the writer of the first chapter of Genesis who traced humanity's origin to one pair. It was the concept of the writer of the tenth chapter of Genesis who conceived it as a part of his religious

philosophy whether it were demonstrable in science or not, that "all nations are bound together by common blood and are the creation of one common God". It was the thought of the rabbi who said the greatest verse of the Bible was: "This is the book of the generations of man". It was the contribution of Isaiah who could exclaim against that fiftieth of the population owning one-half of a nation's wealth: "Woe to those who join house to house, who add field to field until there is no space left." It is the democracy of Hillel: "If I am for myself alone, what am I?"

Compare this democracy of Israel's teachers with Prof. Rauschenbusch's severe arraignment of Christianity when he indicts his faith "for allowing the social hope to fade by throwing all its strength in an other-worldly hope. The most effective argument against religion today is that religion has been against the people. . . . For a century and a half at least they have been on the upgrade, climbing with inexpressible toil and suffering toward freedom, equality and brotherhood. The official Church, taking Christendom as a whole, has thrown the bulk of its great resources to the side of those who are in possession and against those who were in such deadly need of its aid. This is the great scandal which will not down." He continues by saying, "In Judaism the hope of the reign of God on earth, thanks to such religious teaching as no other Nation had, had become a dogma of the popular faith, a common axiomatic conviction."

To continue the point of view of Israel's democratic prophets, let me quote the words of another Christian teacher, Prof. Kent: "The clear-eyed prophet of Tekoa said and proclaimed eternal principles which, if appreciated and applied in the market places, in the public tribunals, in the councils of state and in the parliament of nations, would long ago have inaugurated the era of universal peace and goodwill that is still the unrealized ideal of humanity."

In this statement of a completely disinterested student of religion, we have not alone a recognition of the rightness of the position of the Jew in the world, but a completely correct statement of Israel's democratic mission. It has always been our belief that Israel's interpretation of God and human life is the

essential prerequisite of a perfect social order. The beautiful biblical idyl of Abraham and the servant to whom he entrusts the obligation of finding a wife for Isaac, is an illustration of that finely democratic principle of complete confidence between master and servant which, if applied to the problems of capital and labor today, would have softened the asperities that now loom so large in the industrial world.

In view of this attitude toward life, we are constrained to deplore what seems to us to be a degeneration from a lofty ideal upon the part of those who claim we have no mission, just at a time when the world stands in need of this old prophetic philosophy. The discouraging array of nostrums which apparently well-meaning theorists submit for the consideration of the world as, for example—bolshevism, dictatorship of proletariats, renationalization, morality by law—betokens a world not alone sick at heart, but oppressed by a famine neither of bread nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the word of the Lord and who wander from sea to sea and from the north even to the east to seek the word of the Lord, and who, alas! do not find it.

I would that both Jew and Gentile might inscribe the words of Professor Kent in the noisy market-places of the world that they may be seen by a Christendom in search of health and healing, and by a divided Jewry, a part of which is so little sure of its authority and potency as to blind itself to the evidence of its own eyes. To you of little faith, let me say that the world is being convinced. Those who would forsake it for an isolation are neither sure of themselves nor of the world in which they live. But that man of prophetic insight, in whom is the spirit of a God of all men,—"he shall bring forth judgment to the nations. He shall not fail, nor be discouraged till he have set justice on the earth, and the isles shall wait for his law."

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES AND RESOLUTIONS

D

JOSEPH BOGEN

HARRY A. MERFELD

It is my sad privilege to bring to you this humble tribute of respect for the memory of my predecessor in office, Joseph Bogen.

I am confident that every member of this Conference, whether they came into close and intimate companionship with Joseph Bogen or knew him only slightly or not at all will join with me in the time-honored words, *zichrono livracha,* the memory of our friend is a blessing.

Joseph Bogen was born in Breslau, Germany, October 12, 1842. He received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Breslau in 1863, and the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1889. He came to America in 1871 and received a call from a congregation at Keokuk, Iowa, remaining there until 1881, when he was called to the pulpit of the Hebrew Union Congregation of Greenville, Miss., which he served until 1901, going from there to the congregation at Texarkana, Texas, and after occupying that pulpit for a period of six years, he became rabbi of B'nai Israel congregation, Jackson, Tenn., to which pulpit he was elected for life. On December 16 last, he died at the home of his daughter at Fort Worth, Texas, after a brief illness.

Doctor Bogen was the author of a book entitled "Meditations for the New Year and Atonement Days" and collaborated with Rabbi George Solomon in the publication of "Essays on the

Origin of Christianity." At the time of his death he had in process of publication a work on "Jewish Religious Customs and their Origin and Purpose."

Joseph Bogen was a member of the so-called "Old School", and he was personally but little known to most of us. As one by one his old friends and colleagues passed away—the great men with whom he had been associated in the great work of American Israel in the pioneer days—his disposition became more and more retiring and his diffidence restrained him from seeking the companionship of his younger colleagues.

He was a member of this Conference almost from its very inception; he was a warm personal friend and admirer of its immortal founder. His life was rich in service and resplendent in sacrifice.

Be it therefore Resolved, That the Conference express its sympathy at the death of our colleague, and that a page of our Yearbook be dedicated to his memory.

E

MOSES J. GRIES

WILLIAM ROSENAU

Ours is the sad duty to chronicle today the death of Moses J. Gries. His rabbinical career runs parallel with the first twenty-six years of the history of our organization. He was a charter member of our Conference. In various capacities he rendered it invaluable service. At times we find his name among the temporary committees for auditing various accounts, the consideration of the President's Message and the making of nominations. The important Standing Committees which enjoyed his earnest cooperation are the following: On the Unaffiliated with Congregations, 1901-03; National Organizations, 1903-04; Social and Religious Union, 1904-05; Hymn-Book Committee, 1892-93; Union Hymnal Revision, 1904-06; Church and State, 1905-07 and 1914-16; Weekday Service, 1905-13; Investments, 1905-13; Religious Schools, 1906-10; Religious Work in Universities, 1907-08; Finance, 1908-09; Soliciting Funds, 1909-12; Religious Education, 1909-13; Text Books, 1910-11; Cooperation in Cases of Emergency, 1909-13; Cooperation with National Organizations, 1909-16; Arbitration, 1915-16; Relief Fund, 1915-16; Superannuated Ministers' Fund, 1915-16.

In a number of instances Gries acted as Chairman of these Committees.

He also represented the Conference on the Editorial Board of the Department of Synagog and School Extension of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, from 1914-16.

On the Executive Committee of the Conference he served as member from 1905-09.

The offices he held were: Assistant Secretary from 1893-94;

Treasurer from 1909-11; Vice-President from 1911-13; and President from 1913-15.

Anyone who has ever attended sessions of the Conference over which Gries presided must have felt that he was an expert parliamentarian. He knew how to handle the most difficult situations. He never lost his head. His quiet bearing during heated debate was nothing short of phenomenal. Too much praise is not bestowed upon him if it is remarked that he was, in great measure, responsible for the business-like administration of the affairs of the Conference in recent years.

But he was interested in more than the business of the Conference. He was solicitous also for the growth of its healthful influence. Thus, as is evidenced by his attitude toward the Conference's vote on the Social Question, when the Conference met in Detroit in 1914, he indicated that he deemed it wise for the Conference to be careful before expressing itself officially on any important question.

In the reading of our Yearbooks we find how actively Gries participated in the discussion of all subjects which came up for the Conference's consideration. He took an active part in such Round Tables as "The Most Effective Sermon" (1907); "The Compatibility of Zionism and Reform Judaism" (1907); "Interesting Features of a Year's Work" (1911); "Problems and Policies of the Conference" (1915); "Bible Reading in the Public Schools" (1915).

As tribute to the memory of Moses J. Gries, the estimate which is contained in the resolutions adopted by our Executive Board on the occasion of his withdrawal from the ministry, might be regarded sufficient even at this hour. It reads:

> Having learned with profound regret that Rabbi Moses J. Gries, one of the most useful members of our Conference and a late President of the same, had resolved to retire from the active ministry, covering twenty-eight years of remarkable achievement, twenty-five of which were spent in Cleveland, Ohio, the Executive Board at its October meeting, held in Cincinnati, unanimously voted to present a resolution to Rabbi Gries, a copy of which herewith follows:

Resolution of the Executive Committee of the

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

anent the resignation of

RABBI MOSES J. GRIES

of Cleveland, Ohio

Whereas, Our beloved friend and colleague, *Rabbi Moses J. Gries,* rabbi of Tifereth Israel Congregation, in Cleveland, Ohio, has felt impelled to withdraw from his many public activities, by which he conferred invaluable benefits upon the Jewish community at large and shed new lustre upon the vocation of rabbi in our country; and,

Whereas, He has severed his connection with all the activities of the *Central Conference of American Rabbis,* in which for many years, as a member of its Executive Board, and especially as President of the Conference, he distinguished himself by his unselfish devotion to the cause of liberal and progressive American Judaism, of religious education and broad philanthropy, as well as by his rare tact and practical wisdom, his fairness and goodwill to all his colleagues,

Be it hereby Resolved, That we, his colleagues of the Executive Board, express our profound regret at being henceforth deprived of the valuable aid of his sound wisdom and counsel and of his calm judgment in our deliberations, while at the same time we assure our beloved colleague and friend, *Rabbi Moses J. Gries,* of our warm appreciation and admiration of the noble character and the self-sacrificing devotion he displayed during the twenty-seven years of his ministry, and particularly of his single-hearted efforts on behalf of the communal welfare of his city, by which he became a shining example and an inspiration to the younger generation of rabbis in this country;

Be it further Resolved, That we voice our hope and

prayer, in common with our colleagues and his dear wife and children, that a benign Providence may spare him for many years to come in health and happiness so as to enable him to carry out his best intentions for the benefit of his family and the good of his community in which he lives, honored and beloved by all who know him.

However, we would be remiss in our obligation to the departed if we did not supplement these resolutions by facts helpful in recalling him to us as he was in life.

Mine was the privilege not only to have had him as my predecessor in the Presidential office of the Conference, and thus to have reaped what he so wisely sowed, but also to have known him intimately as colleague, classmate, fellow student and friend since boyhood days.

Moses J. Gries was born in Newark, N. J., January 25, 1868, and died in Cleveland, Ohio, October 30, 1918. He was one of eight children who had come to bless the union of Jacob Gries and Katherine Frances Gries (nee Holzer). When three years of age Moses J. Gries lost his father, and when seven he was deprived of his mother.

His early secular education was obtained in the public schools of Newark and his elementary Hebrew training from Rabbis Joseph Leucht and Joseph Hahn, of the same city. In 1881 he entered the Hebrew Union College and Hughes High School at Cincinnati. In 1889 he graduated with the degree B. L. from the University of Cincinnati and with the title "Rabbi" from the Hebrew Union College.

Gries's first pulpit was in Chattanooga, Tenn. He continued in office there from 1889 until 1892. From Chattanooga he went to Cleveland, Ohio, acting as the rabbi of Tifereth Israel Congregation for a quarter of a century. About a year before his death, on account of ill health, he voluntarily resigned his position.

When Gries came to Cleveland he found a congregation numbering no more than 125 members and a congregational Religious School with an enrollment of about 80 children. The old

temple on Huron Street soon had to be abandoned, because Gries's organizing genius gave marked impetus to the congregation's growth.

Gries played a prominent part in the affairs not only of the Jewish community, but also of the general community. There was no institution or movement for betterment in Cleveland which did not come under the influence of his powerful personality. He was a civic factor of the highest magnitude. Moreover, as he interested himself in Cleveland's local affairs, so he rendered valuable assistance in the launching of national organizations, secular as well as Jewish, and in the administration of international Jewish relief.

June 3, 1917, the day he retired from the pulpit, was made a Testimonial Day by his congregation. As Gries's personal friend and the Conference's representative I was present on this occasion. I shall never forget the inspiring character of that celebration, which, within the breast of everyone, evoked the mingled feelings of joy and sorrow—of joy that public service was appreciated—and of sorrow, that an illustrious career had to be cut short.

What Moses J. Gries was in public life can be regarded the natural flowering of his earliest ideas and ideals. Gries, the child, was the father of Gries, the man.

He was an excellent student, but never strove for scholarship as such. All Jewish knowledge he acquired was by him regarded merely a mental discipline, the better to prepare him for the many-sided communal tasks the American rabbinate is called upon to perform. Because Gries did not aspire after erudition, his work is not any the less valuable. Society, as it is now constituted, calls for a ministry consisting of preachers dowered with a variety of special qualifications. The exhorter, the lecturer, the scholar, the authority, the organizer and the social worker, all have their place among the rabbis in the Jewish body politic.

And yet Gries had the highest regard for the scholar. On one occasion in the early days of his career, Gries was the applicant for a certain pulpit. He learned that the week after he had delivered his trial sermon an older man of profound learning was to be given a probationary hearing. He took me into

his confidence and told me of his determination, which he forthwith carried out, to withdraw from pulpit competition. His reason was none other than his unwillingness to see erudition humiliated in defeat.

Gries had an exceptionally analytical mind. I know no one who proved more competent in getting the substance out of a book than he. He was in the habit of making an abstract of everything he read and everything he said. Having the proper respect for the intelligence of his audiences, he never spoke without preparation. If it was impossible for him to prepare in detail, he was sure to work out at least a synopsis of his thought. He was thoroughly practical. His executive ability exhibited itself in every one of his undertakings. He was systematic and precise, not only in his work, but also in his recreation.

He was every inch a man. Sincerity marked his every act, look and word. He was "clean of hands and pure of heart." He did not "lift up his soul to falsehood nor did he swear deceitfully." He held that whatever else a man was, as Jewish teacher, his outward protestations had to harmonize with his inward motives. כל תלמיד שאין תוכו כבדו אל יכנם לבית המדרש What Gries practiced he preached, and what he preached he practiced. He advocated only that which became conviction with him. He did not compromise with the truth. He never minced words. He had no patience with pretense. He could not tolerate falsehood. He was no respecter of persons. It made no difference to him who the social leper was, the cry "Unclean, Unclean" was in no case withheld.

Gries could grow righteously indignant whenever there was call for righteous indignation. Therefore, it may be stated that while he was loyal to his friends, he did not hesitate to condemn them whenever he knew that they did wrong. Like the prophet Nathan, he would hurl at them the accusation, "Thou art the man!" אתה האיש

As his loyalty to friends did not prevent Gries from criticising them, so did his loyalty to institutions not restrain him from indicating their mistakes or their opportunities for improvement. Thus it happened that his *alma mater,* the Hebrew Union

College, and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, to cite only two examples, were the frequent beneficiaries of his corrective counsel.

Gries felt deeply. He was markedly emotional. He worked indefatigably. When he saw a duty he performed it. In all he undertook one could observe his intensity. In fact, it was his intensity which tended to shorten his days.

His bearing was always marked by dignity. The rabbinate and the Jewish community could count upon being properly represented by him. It mattered not whether he spoke at dedication of temples, national Jewish conventions, interdenominational meetings or before Christian Chautauqua audiences, he could always be relied upon to say the right word. Several years ago when he addressed "The Baltimore City Club" on "The City Beautiful", a subject which had for its purpose the introduction of municipal reforms, every Jew present rejoiced over the impression Gries made upon the large non-Jewish element in his audience. He may be included among those of whom it is said: בקרבי אקדש ועל פני כל העם אכבד "Through them that are nigh unto me I will be sanctified and before all the people I will be glorified" (Lev. X, 3). Gries understood it to be his duty as a rabbi להורת את בני ישראל את כל החקים אשר דבר יהוה אליהם ביד משה: "to teach the statutes (the permanent things) which the Lord had spoken unto Israel by the hand of Moses" (Lev. X, 11).

And all that Gries evidenced in life, he exhibited also in his literary style. His diction was clear. His sentences were terse and trenchant. He knew how to put things. One always knew where Gries stood on any issue. His aim seemed to be not only to be understood, but also not to be misunderstood. He was neither ambiguous, verbose nor pompous.

When he mounted the rostrum, either in consecrated edifice or secular building, his lips seemed to be touched by the living coals of truth taken from God's altar. An illustration of his impassionate oratory is the address delivered by him at the John Hay Memorial Service, which was held at the Chamber of Commerce, in Cleveland, in 1905, and which our Conference, upon

invitation, attended in a body. Stirring is his peroration which reads:

> "The lives of the sons of the nation, pure and great, exalt and ennoble the whole nation. John Hay was a patriot—a true patriot, a true type of America's noblest and best. What words, more fitting to be spoken, than those immortal words, spoken on the field of Gettysburg by Abraham Lincoln, whom he loved and served so well! 'It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion.'"
>
> —(Yearbook, Vol. XV, pp. 133, 134.)

And now let us consider the keynote of Gries's preaching and the Jewish activities in which Gries was particularly interested.

While Gries was conservative in his youth, he became a radical the moment he entered the ministry. Few men justly are willing to go to the lengths Gries did in adjusting Judaism to the spirit of the times. Reckoning with the past is essential in Judaism. It defines the exact line of our religious development. The Torah was not read in his temple. Sunday services took the place of the traditional Sabbath devotion. Perhaps only one other congregation is known to have thus departed from established customs.

Whether we endorse his point of view or not, his call to Reform, presented in his Conference sermon delivered in 1911 and entitled "The Opportunities of Liberal Judaism in America" is noteworthy. It expresses better than anything else from his pen his position on some of the principles of Jewish Theology. Says Gries:

> "It is a time of moral and social crisis in the religious world and in the Jewish world, yet leaders in Israel are insistent upon conformity rather than upon conscience. They seem to value ceremony as more powerful for life than conduct, and ritual more than righteousness. The modern world needs the awakening of conscience; individual, corporate, national and interna-

tional. The age demands a rebirth of moral passion. Therefore we liberals are so insistent upon the Jewish ethical emphasis and have so little confidence in a religion of pots and pans, of rites and ritual. Neither internal dietetics nor external genuflections will save the modern Jew. *Needed* for the Jew and for the world is the *Jewish ethical interpretation,* vital and with power, of life, of the world and of history.

. . . . . .

Let us look the Sabbath problem squarely in the face. It will never be solved by rhetorical rhapsodies about Sabbath Candles; nor yet by a pleasant glossing over of real difficulties in religious belief and religious life. Let us work for a genuine Sabbath for the Jew—a day of rest in honor of God, for worship and for spiritual uplift. I am unwilling that an hour on Friday evening or Saturday or Sunday morning shall be Sabbath for the chosen few, while the vast multitude of Israel remain Sabbathless and religionless. . . .

Liberal Judaism has a duty also to the immigrants, in the great cities and in the smaller communities throughout the country. Let us not build, not suffer to be built, a wall of separation between Jews and Jews.

. . . . . .

The Liberal Jew must interpret ancient Judaism to the modern world. He speaks to the twentieth century. Education has changed the thought of the world. Never again will mankind hold the former views of religion. Inter-communication has changed the whole face of the globe. Never again will the Jew be an isolated nation.

I believe in the mission of the Jew, and I believe that mission to be in the world and to the world. Ours the duty to proclaim our Jewish thought to the world in which we live; not to convert the world, but to teach mankind the Jewish view of life and of history. The time will come when we shall regret that we have not been inspired by the missionary enthusiasm. . . .

. . . . . .

An obligation rests upon the Jews of America. Judaism has survived the yoke of bondage and the sword of oppression. Judaism must prove itself triumphant under freedom. Judaism must be a *religion of freedom* and not a religion of persecution. Not forever must our characteristic note be the wail of sorrow, under the pangs of suffering, with unceasing martyrdom. We have been delivered from the ghetto walls. We must be emancipated from the ghetto spirit. Our Judaism must inspire life under freedom.

Only a free, emancipated Judaism will ever be a true world religion. Therefore some of us are so insistent that the Jew and Judaism in America shall be American and not oriental. Our American Jewish congregations are not oriental transplantations. They need not appear oriental in the form and language of worship, nor yet in the practices of life."

(Yearbook, Vol. XXI, pp. 143, 144, 145, 147.)

In the light of his enthusiasm for his particular Reform, as well as in that of existing requirements, we can readily appreciate his recommendation to organize the "Forward Movement", as contained in a paragraph taken from his Presidential Message in 1914 and reading as follows:

"Judaism's principles, teachings, and ideals are true, but we need the voice and the power of the prophets to appeal to the hope and the idealism of the youth of America, and to kindle the enthusiasm and to command the spirit of consecration of our college men and women. If the remnants of Israel, scattered among strange peoples in far distant lands, do not stimulate our imagination, surely the thousands upon thousands of the unsynagoged and the untempled—the lost and the strayed of Israel—at our very door, in every city of America, should compel our sense of obligation. Have we the wisdom and force to inspire and to organize this Forward Movement of the laymen of Israel? I would awaken, not the memories of the dead

past, but the strong consciousness of the living present—our duty, teachers and leaders, to the living generation."

(Yearbook, Vol. XXIV, p. 190.)

Gries lost no opportunity to prove that Religion, to remain a power, must be Conduct. Typical is the paragraph taken from the Message to which we have just referred and in which he recommends:

"Judaism is life and not articles of faith; life and not a code of laws. This new emphasis has transformed the life-work of the rabbi and the conception of the temple. Religion cannot be, as many people believe it to be, something remote from life. It has relation to the whole of life. It expresses itself in ways other than worship."

(Yearbook, Vol. XXIV, p. 179.)

As his Cleveland congregation was probably one of the first in the country to put women on the Board of Trustees, so it was one of the first—if not *the* first—to advocate and conduct the Open Temple. In his Conference lecture in 1901 he says:

"Where then is the temple which is doing its full duty to its community—which is open to all and whose gates men and women and children enter with thanksgiving? Of whom may it with truth be said, 'This is the generation of those that seek Thee!' I do not wait to hear you protest. . . . . Worship is not the all of Judaism.'

I accept the thought and I ask for more than times of worship and hours for religious instruction. . . . Confront the conditions as they exist. . . . .

Welcome the movement and the inspiration which will bring back the healthy interests of life. Our temples are not to be monuments, beautiful and costly, to satisfy our pride and vanity. . . . . Judaism is concerned with the whole of life. . . . It does not divide life and conduct into religious and irreligious . . . . . .

> Every effort and activity of life, all work and pleasure, are within the province of religion. . . . . Our present-day life grows more and more complex.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Men and women are drawn more and more out of their homes to satisfy their desires and their necessities.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> The temple shall be the larger home for the congregation—not a substitute for but a supplement to the home. It is the natural center of all congregational and communal life. . . . . The organizations and societies of men and women, especially of young men and young women, which exist in most communities, ought to find a home in the temple.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> The temple, by reason of its character, and the cause for which it stands, will give a needed uplift to the works and the pleasures of these associations, and they, do not fear, will not make unholy the altar."
>
> (Yearbook, Vol. XI, pp. 145-147.)

As to whether all that marked Gries's Open Temple is legitimate for the house of God to offer, is still debatable.

The Jewish activity in which Gries was particularly interested is the education of the young. He had the happy faculty of making up with children and winning their love. He knew their needs because he understood child-life.

When he was a member of the Committee on the Unaffiliated, unlike many others, he contended for the admittance of the children of people not members of the congregation, into the Religious School (Yearbook, Vol. XI, p. 73). Both his sympathy for children and his attitude toward the unaffiliated resulted in his creation of one of the largest congregational schools in the United States. Among educational activities, all of which tended to the genuine uplift of growing Jews and Jewesses and for which he was in great measure responsible, are his Temple Alumni Association, the Educational League, the Council Educational Alliance of Cleveland and the Jewish Religious Teach-

ers' Association of Ohio. Nor should it be forgotten, that the Sabbath School exhibits, which were frequently arranged at our Conferences, were originally suggested by Gries.

To insure general Jewish propaganda, both for the enlightenment of Jews and non-Jews, Gries was very much interested in the publication of tracts and favored the publication of an American Jewish Quarterly Review (Yearbook, Vol. XI, p. 89).

His sympathy for world-Jewry, his sense of Jewish solidarity and therefore his Jewish consciousness can, despite his extreme radicalism, be declared to have been especially marked. Listen to what he says in his Presidential Message of 1915:

> "The misery and misfortune of the millions of non-combatants are the obligation of their own countries and governments. Each country and government has the imperative duty to care for its own citizens and people. The Jews of America, hearing Israel's cry of affliction, have struggled to lift Israel's heavy burden, but in vain.
>
> Again, in the face of world-wide misery, we discover ourselves unprepared and unorganized. To meet overwhelming disaster, we endeavor to create national and international agencies. We are never ready, though Jews are ever in distress and have not yet escaped the yoke of the world's cruelty, oppression and persecution.
>
> Our duty is to send relief, and yet more relief, and it will not be enough. It saddens and shames us to know how inadequate has been our response; but in spite of all discouragement, we dare not abandon our efforts.
>
> Is there one in America, who would witness actual human suffering and refuse help? Is there one among us all, who could see babes perish and men and women die from hunger and exposure and refuse to hear the piteous cry? I am unwilling to believe that the Jews of America 'don't care.' Perhaps when they realize the facts they will do their full duty. America is the only Jewish community in the world able to send relief.

American Jews heretofore, always, have answered Israel's appeal for help. Drive home with power the magnitude of the misery, to compel sacrifice for our unfortunate brothers!"

(Yearbook, Vol. XXV, pp. 142, 143.)

No rabbi surpassed Gries in the appreciation of America and American institutions. Our Committee on Sectarianism was, during Gries's Presidency, reorganized with a representative in every state of the Union, in order to make the work of said Committee more effectual. In this connection, let me quote again from his Presidential Message of 1915 a paragraph headed "Religious Liberty."

"The wisdom of our plan of reorganization of the Church and State Committee has been made manifest. Urgent is the demand for better organization against the associations which menace religious liberty in America. Immediate is the need for more thorough preparedness against the false arguments offered in the interest of legislation, favoring the introduction of Bible Reading in the Public Schools. In the face of tremendous pressure, we triumphed, because of the inherent righteousness of our cause. The duty of leadership and the responsibility for initiative rest upon our State Chairmen, but all of us must study the problem and know the law and be eternally vigilant.

It is the mature judgment of students of American history, that American political freedom would never have been won, if simultaneously religious liberty had not been achieved. In the days of the Revolution the leaders for political liberty were the advocates of religious liberty. 'Church and state, separate and independent, is uniquely American, and constitutes the most striking contribution of America to the science of government.'

Organized forces threaten to invade the sanctity and to destroy the character of the American Public School. With all vigilance and with all might, we must safe-

guard its sanctity and maintain its character inviolate. The public school must be for all the children of the Republic, offering equal opportunity to all and equal, unreserved participation to all. The public school is *the* institution to unify and to Americanize the children of the nation. Religious Liberty is the great gift of America to civilization and to the world."

(Yearbook, Vol. XXV, pp. 147, 148.)

What a pity that Gries was not able to spend the last year of his life in the service of the rabbinate! He loved his calling. He eloquently proved this in the reply he sent on February 9, 1917, to the Resolution of the Executive Committee of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. In this reply he remarked:

"No life-calling is nobler than that of rabbi. To it I was guided in early youth, and to it I consecrated the gifts and powers, with which I may have been endowed.

It was my chosen life-work—and to its service it has been a privilege to give myself, with heart and soul and might.

. . . . . .

It has been a happiness to serve the historic cause of Israel and to strive for the fulfillment of its prophetic ideals in and through America.

Though necessity compels me to free myself from the heavy burdens of the active ministry, I hope to be able to continue useful service for Israel's cause."

(Yearbook, Vol. XXVII, p. 26.)

As long as Gries was, on account of the strain which goes with public speaking, obliged to withdraw from the ministry, the hope was generally entertained, that he would be spared to take a leading part in the laity. The realization of this hope was, however, in the wisdom of Divine Providence, not vouchsafed.

Moses J. Gries lies buried in Mayfield Cemetery, Cleveland. He is mourned not only by his beloved wife, Frances Hayes

Gries, to whom he was married June 15, 1898, and by his two sons, but also by the congregation and the community he served so faithfully and all his colleagues in the rabbinate wheresoever dwelling in these United States.

When the new temple of Tifereth Israel Congregation is to be erected, a chapel, to be known as the Gries Memorial Chapel, will, according to resolution, be dedicated to his memory. In the meantime, and ever after, Moses J. Gries shall live in affectionate regard within the hearts of all of us who knew him as President of our Conference, colleague and friend. זכר צדיק לברכה

"The memorial of this righteous man is a blessing." Illustrious as Moses J. Gries was in life, he is one of those of whom it can be said: גדולים צדיקים במיתתן יותר מבחייהן "Greater are the righteous in their death than in their life." (*Hulin* 7.)

> *Be it Resolved,* That the Central Conference of American Rabbis record on the minutes of this meeting its profound grief over the loss it has sustained in the death of Moses J. Gries, and that an expression of its sympathies be forwarded to our departed colleague's wife and children.

F

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS—WISE CENTENARY

LOUIS GROSSMAN

The hand of memory is magic. It touches the dead with light touch and they rise. It puts its finger on the eye and it opens. It calls forth the voice that lies slumbering in the echo and it speaks with restored familiarity. It sets erect the man and he moves amongst us as if he had not gone from us at all. Love is the magic of that memory. It warms the dead that they live again.

Isaac M. Wise is dead nineteen years. But faithful love has been sitting at his grave. And sometimes, as tonight, when we come together, we who were with him in the days of his trials and in the days of his triumph, love opens the portals and takes him by the arm and leads him into the midst of us that with clarified eye he may gaze upon us and brighten us and that we may catch a glimpse of him and return to our duties uplifted.

Who does not remember him as truth made him! The glamor of fame has not changed his simplicity. His face was frank, his voice sincere, the touch of his hand warm; who does not remember, if ever he walked with Isaac M. Wise on the street, that slow, halting way, that affable flow of talk, interrupted by stops. Who that ever sat at table with him can forget his cheery hospitality, in which wit mingled with the serious. Who that was his pupil can wipe out of his vision that eye of his that looked into yours to coax you to think with him. Isaac M. Wise was dear to us because he was near to our heart. And memory brings him back.

In a room in this Temple there are three paintings of him. One of how he appeared when he was young, another as he was

in the years of his prime and a third depicts him in his old age. The artists have done their best to portray what is mute on canvas. But when released from the conventions of art, and freeing the soul that sat for them in the flesh, three great human tragedies speak out of them. Three dreams, three fulfilments, three human truths of life, of youth, and manhood and old age, the one with the zest of impulsive ambition, the second with the vigor of certainty that comes from within and the third with the serenity that the loud applause cannot sweeten and vulgar adulation cannot enhance. Isaac M. Wise was sturdiest when men blocked his way, and drew satisfaction out of his labor then most when there was with him none but his hope and his conscience.

The young Wise was a dreamer, but not a visionary. He planned and he built his plans not out of hazy wishes, but out of conviction and will.

His face is pale as that of an earnest man who represses the impulses of youth and has sacrificed buoyant vigor for the sake of a great ideal. His eye is luminous and has the reach of far vision. You remember that picture of him in the days when he had just come from stormy Albany, in cap and gown and with face smooth and broad and erect shoulders. He had just passed through the ordeals which the petty always force upon the heroic. And he was coming to those who understood him and said they would sponsor him and help him build an American Israel.

The Wise of the fifties and sixties is a robust man, though he stoops and halts. A Jacob who has wrestled with the stranger and had become maimed but had remained unconquered. Some of you have before your eye this Wise with bushy eyebrow and the flowing hair, with his hand resting upon a book and the glasses flung high upon his forehead. It was the time of his fight, when contestants, or was it competitors, blocked his path. Who will ever read out of that face the secret of his tragic sorrow, mingled with the glow of a zeal that would not weaken? He had resolved to do big things and he would let none hinder him. Every word of his was a fulmination and thunder and he had only wrath and an explosive will. Scorn for the malicious,

contempt for the small, pity for the weak who could not dare, and a challenge against those who trusted themselves too much and the truth not enough.

And Wise, the old man, with gray and sparse hair, and shaggy beard and a smile hovering across his lips and the eye turning sight inward and the head bent forward. Who does not remember the sprightliness and the vivacity that defy with almost boyish independence the approach of age and weakness and resent the courtesy and the patronizing indulgence which come under the guise of respect and reverence? He was serene and calm and sage and the storm of his life had abated. But he had not put away his pen nor blunted its point. For there was still much to do and there was none besides him to attempt it. His pupils had gone into all directions of this great land and had carried his word. But a wonderful day was still to dawn, and he saw its gleam. "What I stood for and you now interpret, will some day be the truth for all men." We smiled at the phantasy of an old man. But the day has come and the nations are leaguing for the peace of the world and for justice to the lowliest! His life had a modest beginning. Modest and suggestive. A student, a teacher, a youth of vigorous impulse. He endured much, but his patience broke when petty men tried him. Do you see, as he saw, the small men with the big intolerance—the men he despised and defied? It was a time when petty men could make their petty tyranny prevail. But he feared no man, least of all those who had themselves fear in their uncertain hearts. Do you recollect that incident in his early years? Friends had called him to dedicate the house of God they had built. But those who dreaded him and dreaded more the truth he had announced, forbade and denied him entrance. Very well, he said, you can close doors but you cannot close hearts. And when abashed by his word, and still more by his frank presence, they opened the doors and later sat truculently at the festive door and his friends forewarned him against their wrath, he rose and read out of a book silently to himself. Perplexed at his queer posture, they yielded to curiosity, wondering what this strange whim meant. And then he raised his voice: "Moses, son of Isaac," he read, "born (and he stated a date) and died

(and again he stated a date); David, son of Jacob, born—died," and so on. And the people gazed at him in amazement and some in pity. The man had lost his reason! "No, friends," he cried, "I am reading inscriptions off of tombstones, on graves that will be. You who now shout and decry me and denounce the truth I bring, will be in these graves some day, and truth will be graven on these stones. And all truth they will be able to say will be, 'Here lie those who were and died.' This and nothing more. But, by the grace of God, of those who speak the truth and live for the truth, of those who will come after us, justice will say: these lived and suffered and worked and triumphed by the truth."

And as his life expanded and he came into touch with the larger world, he resented with increasing manliness the limitations of his life and of the life of those who were flesh of his flesh. The man of reform is passionate. He flings the hammer of his criticism and drives it with force. How virile was Wise's word, how provoking. He had a blunt tongue, and only those could understand him who had as plain and honest a soul. He spoke to the people, not only in the language of the people, but also with the heart of the people, and they understood him and loved him. For he spoke not of things remote, but of things near to them. Those days of reform were hard and trying. It is so difficult to jolt people out of their habits. And the new thought it urges and forces is discomforting. Wise clinched with his opponents. They were many and intrenched, and he was alone, and it was true for him as it is true of all such as he, that "one and God are a majority." He was certain and he was indefatigable. What cannot be achieved by one word can be achieved by two, and the third word is an additional strength. The winged word of the press and the personal word of address. And Wise went through the length and breadth of this large country and stirred the people. The strenuous exertion did not tire him nor did the campaign exhaust his ingenuity. He met argument with convincing logic and captious criticism with self-effacing patience. Editorials every week, and lectures and speeches and endless assaults upon the strongholds of the men who knew they faced defeat but were reluctant to confess it.

And then came the day, the dawning day of the victory he had earned. Weaker, more selfish souls might now rest or vaunt. But not Wise. Now, in fact, his zest for work and the larger outlook began. Till now the fight was man against man. Opinion against opinion and one kind of reform, as it were, against a rival one. But now there was only one reform, and that his. But a reform that had a summed up obligation. Wise knew a greater day had come, a greater day for his conscience. It was the day for Union. He welded the units into a union. He fused the persons into a kinship, and created an organization that the soul of Israel might live. And he inspirited that soul. He summoned the young men and gave them of his soul and of his life and they have given it in their turn to those who came after him and are now taking their place. Does your mind's eye not see him in the midst of those resolute, loyal men who were with him in those days of the building of the Union? They came from the West and the South, and some from the East and said with him, Israel must live through a good and united will. And since that day this Union has stood sponsor for the dignity and the moral strength in American Israel.

And, finally, he laid his aged and kind hand upon those who had stood apart because of that hesitation which attends those most who know that an unseen bond restrains them. The rabbis must unite, he declared, for their own sake and for the sake of the people who trust them. And they united, and the bond at which they had tugged as a chain now holds them in friendship.

You admire his vision. You marvel at his foresight. You pity the tension and strain under which his soul sighed long and tearful years and you rejoice at the wonderful fulfilment of the dreams of his youth. But even with this you have not touched the hem of his greatness. For his greatness cannot be measured by the compass of his achievements. For he was bigger than all these. He was admired, he was respected, he was the head of a united American Israel. But he was greatest where he was loved. And this was here in this place. The dome reaches high and the columns bear the arches that bridge the cupola, but farther than all of them goes that edifying uplift that came to the souls of those who looked into his eye. He was

a friend who felt the solemn sense of loyalty. Do you remember that fiery word of his that once he cast at his boys, like a fiery torch that burned into our souls? The students of the University had conspired to offend his friend. And his boys had been amongst the conspirators. He sent for them and declared they must foreswear the wrong. "This is my friend," he cried, "and my boys must be friends of my friend!"

He began with all hostile to him. He ended with all his admirers. A great man is he who does great things in a great way, but greater than he is he who evokes affection and holds it. The shy child on the street did not shrink from him, but rather nestled to him. And the lonely man without friend and protector was reassured and secure, when under the warm charm of his gracious kindness. Those who are fond of abstractions may dispute whether greatness is a matter of genius or of infinite pains. But those who know men find the secret power of character in its serene kindliness. Wise was one of those rare gracious souls who win affection and loyalty and hold them in complete sincerity. Death cannot chill them and the hastening years cannot pale them. We have come here to give him the tribute he has earned. But we satisfy ourselves, the best, the noblest and the truest that is in us. For these we got from him. An unseen bond binds us to him. For love transcends time. He lives now, that natural, simple-hearted man who sat down with the humblest and dealt with him as his equal before God and man. "You need bread? Well, for that I am here." "You want to study? Well, come with me; I, too, want to study." "You are worried? Well, come; I, too, have my worry; let us exchange. Will you have mine?" This human touch made him kindred. And it made him immortal.

G

CENTENARY ADDRESS

ISAAC M. WISE—PIONEER LEADER OF AMERICAN ISRAEL

HENRY BERKOWITZ

As though it were yesterday, this hour revives the memory of the last time many of us gathered here, nineteen years ago today. Then we came to cluster about the silent form of our master and to receive into our souls the last message of his presence on earth. That message spake with undying eloquence from the mute lips of Death. These consecrated walls re-echoed the grief that welled from our hearts and that found expression in the solemn chant whose words he himself had composed for the Memorial service of the great Atonement Day:—

"Es leben deine Todten!
Sie schweben zu dir nieder
Als sanfte Friedensboten."

The inspirations of that deathless hope had been borne into his soul by the sublime prophecy of Isaiah (XXVI, 19):

יחיו מתיך הקיצו ורננו שכני עפר
כי טל אורת טלך וארץ רפאים תפיל:

"Thy dead shall live—they wake and sing for joy!
For thy dew is refreshing as the dew at daybreak,
When earth's shades shall flit away."

Verily, like the dew at dawn, has the divine favor day by day, renewed within our hearts the spirit of our great teacher. As

the shadows of misjudgment and misunderstanding have flitted away, more and more brilliantly has the light of his spirit gleamed forth in luminous blessing. That light was kindled one hundred years ago on this night in the little village of Steingrub, Bohemia.

So far across a darkened world that little flame hath shed its beams. We who kindled our torches with its fire: who guided our pathway by its light and cheered our hearts by its glow, now come from all parts of the land to unite on this Anniversary Day, in a tribute of honor and gratitude, whose fulness no words can adequately express. How that flame was nourished; what clouds and mists its rays were destined to pierce; what darkness to dispel and what blessings to radiate—we would recount with reverent thankfulness. A general survey is all I may venture to offer by way of introduction to the detailed treatment of the various phases of the life work of Dr. Wise to be presented in the succeeding sessions of the Conference.

Three great tides of new influence passed into the life currents of the world during the century we are reviewing. By them the career of Dr. Wise was mightily determined. These were the forces that inaugurated first, the political emancipation; second, the intellectual freedom; and finally, the religious reformation of the Jew from the thralldom of medievalism. Into these currents Dr. Wise directed the course of his people. The rare gifts with which he had been divinely endowed gave him the vision—clearer than that of any of his contemporaries; and the vigor, more lusty in energy and more powerful in execution—that made him, as all now freely acknowledge, the pioneer leader of American Israel. The movement for political emancipation had its earliest beginnings with the rise of the Netherlands. It was first clearly proclaimed in America through our Declaration of Independence. It burst forth in the excesses of the French Revolution and sweeping through the lands of Western Europe brought the first measure of freedom to the Jew. The great intellectual upheaval that created the modern scientific era took its origin in Great Britain. It found its broadest unfoldment in this Western World where it provided fullest opportunities of participation for the Jew. The movement for religious reform

brought into existence the liberal branches of Christianity. Among the Jews it received its earliest impulse in the influences that flowed from the brilliant friendship of a noble Jew with a noble Christian—Moses Mendelssohn, and that peerless champion of religious freedom, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing. But the reform which had its rise in the post-Mendelssohnian era in Germany developed in America along independent lines. Under the leadership of Dr. Wise it became distinctively hostile to the transplanting of either German or any other form of old-world Judaism to American soil. They are therefore entirely in error who today declare that American Reform Judaism came out of the poisonous atmosphere of Germany and must therefore be shunned.

Just one hundred years ago, after the battle of Waterloo, the reactionaries came into control. The high hopes that had been aroused by the steady progress of political emancipation were dashed to the earth. Scenes of pillage and persecution were witnessed in the towns of Germany. The *Hep! Hep!* cry resounded about the cradle of Isaac M. Wise. When he was a boy of twelve years of age, he was already filled with the spirit of revolt against the whole German system. In 1831 there fell into his hands a publication issued by the most courageous advocate of human rights in his day, Gabriel Riesser of Hamburg. The little book was eagerly devoured by the lad in secret. "I then learned in that distant village of Bohemia," he wrote when commenting on Riesser's visit to the United States in 1856, "that the Jew also had inborn human rights that must be respected. I still remember how boldly he told the truth to those German county squires, soldiers and pikemen. Frequently I wept at the wrongs he set forth and the mighty language with which he castigated them."

The legal disabilities of the Jews and the consequent economic hardships weighed heavily on the youth, ambitious to secure an education. We see him bravely faring forth afoot to the capital city of Prague, carrying his little bundle of clothes and equipped with twenty-seven kreutzer in his pocket. When we consider the hardships of those early years (over which he so willingly drew the veil of oblivion) we may realize how fortunate were

we, his students, in the privileges we enjoyed under his fatherly solicitude. It was through his own indomitable industry and courage and the helpful aid of his teachers, especially Solomon Judah Rappaport and Isaac Noah Mannheimer, that these trials were successfully combatted. In 1842 at 23 years of age he received the *Semicha* and was called to officiate as rabbi at Radnitz.

His independent spirit speedily asserted itself in his public life. The cruel and inhuman restriction which limited the number of marriages among the Jews he openly violated. Summoned before the imperial council at Prague, he boldly denounced the law as immoral. His brave stand brought about its ultimate abrogation. His position grew steadily more irksome. He told in later years of how, dispirited and heart-sick at the stifling of his ideals, he yearned to break away into a freer atmosphere. In vain Prudence sounded its warning note from the lips of his beloved young wife and dependent child.

In an antiquarian book store in the city of Prague he found a collection of American English prints with a set of journals from the years 1780-1790. They were the letters of Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, on the adoption of the Federal Constitution of the United States. "I purchased the whole set", wrote Dr. Wise a half century later. "I read them with the heart perhaps more than with the reason. That literature made of me a naturalized American in the interior of Bohemia. It inspired in me the resolution to go to America, and against the will of my friends I did go and my family with me."

Perhaps the most pathetic moment in the history of the young immigrant was that of the disillusionment which came to him after his arrival on these shores in July, 1846. With the glowing fancy of the poet, he had conceived so exalted an idea of the land of freedom that when face to face with the sordidness and pettiness of the realities he found and the discouraging counsels of those he met, his heart sank and gloom enveloped his soul. Out of this torpor he was roused by Dr. Max Lilienthal, then officiating in New York. To him, after some hesitancy, he had presented his letters of introduction. Those of us who recall the inspiring personality of Dr. Lilienthal, his noble bear-

ing, the geniality of his spirit, the ardent enthusiasm that flowed from his every utterance, will readily understand the tribute paid when in his "Reminiscences" (pp. 19-20), Dr. Wise later wrote: "The impression I received in the Lilienthal home perhaps decided my career in America."

It was then that he proved himself the man of far-reaching vision. Leaving the lowlands of gloom and despair and clambering to the Pisgah heights of the prophetic outlook he peered far into the future. Like Moses, whom the Midrash portrays as casting his eyes from Mount Nebo over the Promised Land and forecasting the great events which under Providence were there to be unfolded, so Dr. Wise in vivid anticipation, planned the creation in this promised land of a glorious future for American Israel. With characteristic vigor he set himself at once to translating his vision into a reality. He had found his life's work.

He was to transform the Jew in America into an American Jew. He found the Jew here still a European. There were groups differentiated according to the lands from which they had emigrated. There were the earliest comers—the *Sephardim,* or Spanish-Portuguese Jews; Dutch Jews; German Jews; Polish Jews. These groups held aloof from each other, and in their separate congregations kept up the distinct *minhagim*—the customs and rituals of these foreign countries. Moreover the timorous, hunted temper of the European ghetto still clung to them—whom Longfellow depicted as "the Ishmaels and Hagars of mankind."

To raise the Jew to self-consciousness; to make him realize that he, the heir of noble traditions, had come at last into the heritage of freedom and was no longer an outcast; to make him lift up his head and walk erect, a man among men; to feel in every pulse-beat of the Jewish heart an answering throb to the inspirations of the new world—this was the ambition that fired the heroic soul of our master. Into that cause he flung his whole being and with unremitting zeal he labored unselfishly for its achievement to the end of his days. Already in 1848 he issued a challenge to the American Israelites to assert themselves. He scouted their cowardice; he stirred up the public press; he organized indignation meetings and combatted fearlessly every en-

croachment on the civil, political, social and religious rights of the Jew here and abroad. He demanded the full application of the fundamentals of the Declaration of Independence; the complete separation of Church and State and the removal of every discrimination against citizens because of their religious faith. In the whole long history of that courageous fight he was the pioneer and leader. From the very first he clearly saw that but little could be achieved by individuals alone and by spasmodic efforts. He pleaded, he argued, he tried, he failed, he tried again and again to unite the forces of American Israel until at last in 1873 the Union of American Hebrew Congregations was formed. Among its cardinal objects it undertook to provide means for the relief of the Jews from unjust discriminations. To that end the "Board of Civil and Religious Rights" was created and has been the official medium through which our Americanism has at all times been manfully and effectively asserted. It has stimulated into being the American Jewish Committee and kindred agencies.

In the heart of this achievement lay a still deeper purpose. The Union was to bring to American Israel its vital participation in that second trend of mighty influences that had come to recreate the intellectual life of the world. "July 1, 1858, separates two epochs in the history of human thought", said that eminent scholar, the late lamented Andrew D. White in his *History of the Warfare of Science* (Vol. I, p. 67). On that day two papers were presented at a session of the Linnean Society of London, one written by Alfred Russel Wallace, the other by Charles Darwin. Independently and after years of research in widely separate parts of the globe, both had made similar discoveries in natural history and without the knowledge of each other, the two friends had reached identical conclusions and promulgated the doctrine of Evolution. Then came that second great movement of the past century. A total revolution of thought was instituted in every domain of human experience and research.

It is difficult for us today to put ourselves into the attitude of mind which was universal before the law of development was discovered as operative, not alone in nature, but also in history.

Now that that principle is regarded as axiomatic, it is impossible for us fully to visualize the intensity of the intellectual combat that raged among the thinking men of the generation to which Dr. Wise belonged.

One day in his office, I saw him reach across his desk, setting to one side a great mass of theological and other papers, and selecting for perusal a leading American scientific journal. "What!" I asked in surprise, "do you find time to read a journal of this kind, too?" With his genial smile he replied that he could better afford to neglect all the other periodicals than this which brought to him the real revelations of God's work in the world. This reply was peculiarly significant, for it revealed an attitude of mind towards the new scientific school of thought quite at variance with that which was general. In the Church, panic reigned. Ecclesiastics of all Christian sects in all lands were united in denouncing the advocates of the new theory as infidels, heretics and atheists. The doctrine of evolution was declared to contradict the record of creation in Genesis. The trumpets of alarm proclaimed that violent hands were being laid on the authority of Holy Writ. Biblical criticism, product of the spirit of free inquiry and research, was denounced as anathema.

The Reform Synagog was not torn by any such violent conflicts. The old Mother of Religions had heard many kindred outcries in the past. The descendants of those who had for generations pondered the searching questions of Job; who had calmly met the cynic skepticism of Koheleth and had patiently followed the intricate reasoning of the sages of the Talmud and their successors kept their poise. "Judaism", says James Darmstetter (*Selected Essays,* p. 274), "is the only religion that has never entered into conflict and never can enter into conflict with either science or social progress; that has witnessed all their conquests without a sense of fear. It salutes with joy the old familiar voices it has heard for centuries."

Intoxicated with their many successes, scientists, led by Karl Vogt and Ludwig Buechner, in the middle of the nineteenth century, overhastily asserted the triumphs of Materialism. In the spirit of the great rationalistic Jewish philosophers consecrated fearlessly to the search after truth; in the spirit of Philo,

Saadiah, Maimonides, Spinoza and Mendelsohn, did the creative minds in Israel also accept the new challenge of the new day. With them Dr. Wise set himself to do his part in separating the false from the true and in clarifying the eternal harmony that reveals God alike in the sublimities of the orderly course of nature and in the reason and conscience of man. "Fear not the progress of Science", I still hear him call in resonant tones from this pulpit. "Dread not the discoveries of philosophy. Be not terrified by the necessity of advancing from error to truth, for Truth is deathless." His studies and reflections of many years were set forth in his fundamental philosophy, *The Cosmic God* (1876). At the summit of his intellectual vigor in 1893, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, he summarized his deepest thought and profoundest convictions in two papers of remarkable clarity and cogency. These he read before the World's Parliament of Religions at Chicago. One was on *Jewish Theology,* the other on *Jewish Ethics.* His very earliest literary effort, *History of the Israelitish Nation* (Albany, 1854), had stirred up a violent storm because he essayed to treat that history not as being exclusively ecclesiastical in content, but by applying common sense and reason to differentiate between the religious elements and those which were political, legal or literary.

He faced the problems of the origins and texts of the biblical books in his *"Pronaos to Holy Writ".* He was one of the first who dared to apply the like canons of criticism also to the New Testament. From his earliest days in America he had been exasperated by the effrontery and importunity of the missionary movement led by credulous pietists and renegade converts. With a temerity few have equalled, he exposed their sham and hypocrisy, their ignorance and wilful misconstruction of the records. To this end he spoke and published *A Defense of Judaism against Proselytizing Christianity, Judaism and Christianity, their Agreements and Disagreements* and *The Martyrdom of Jesus.* He was one of the first to demonstrate that the birth of Christianity cannot be understood without a knowledge of the Judaism of the first century.

Dr. Wise was not a mere closet student—a pedant. He was pre-eminently a teacher. He literally verified the injunction

ללמד וללמד לשמר ולעשות "to learn and to teach, to heed and to act". Not satisfied with propounding his lessons from the pulpit or in printed books, he sent them broadcast first in Leeser's *Occident* of Philadelphia, then in Lyon's *Asmonean* of New York, and after his settlement in Cincinnati in his two great journals, *The American Israelite* and *Die Deborah*.

He had a passion for teaching. When he landed in New York his first occupation was teaching. In Albany he at once opened a school into which girls as well as boys were received as pupils. The call to Cincinnati interested him largely because here Judah Touro had endowed a school—*The Talmud Yelodim Institute*. He kept his clear vision bent with wrapt intent from his earliest days in America upon one definite goal. He saw with ever-increasing conviction the supreme need of American Israel for a school in which to train teachers and leaders. You know the long, tireless, unremitting, heroic efforts he made until at last, on October 3, 1875, the Hebrew Union College welcomed us who were the first of the two hundred students who in these forty-four years have passed through its portals and won the honors of ordination. Who that was present will ever forget that memorable July day of 1883, when the first graduation took place! The venerable form of our revered master seemed to rise to majestic stature as he stood in this consecrated place. Here thronged his hosts of friends, those of his beloved congregation and of this city at large who had shared in all his trials and struggles and had now come to glory in his triumphs. Here were assembled from all parts of the land the delegates to the Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations to witness the realization of his cherished dream. It was one of those rare moments of exaltation when our beings are thrilled with sense of the sublime. Into the souls of us who were favored to receive the hallowed *s*[e]*micha* by the pressure of his lips upon our brows, there entered a solemn consecration to the tasks for which he sent us forth and that has made his deathless spirit abide with us in every impulse and motive of our life's work. That work was to centre in the fulfillment of the third great purpose Dr. Wise cherished and by which American Israel was

to realize in its religious life the great possibilities of its new-found freedom.

When the new light of the scientific era was flashed into the mazes of Jewish history, it revealed the process of evolution that had marked the progress of the centuries! The discoverers of the new science of Judaism, *"Die Wissenschaft des Judenthums"*, developed a constructive philosophy of Reform Judaism. The content of this philosophy Dr. Wise helped to formulate in his *Essence of Judaism* and numerous other writings, many of which were garnered into the proceedings of this Conference. Its spirit constrained in him the necessity of creating the new ritual he called *Minhag America,* the pioneer of all kindred efforts that ultimately were harmonized in our *Union Prayer Book.* While his great antagonist, Isaac Leeser, was weighing the relative merits of the Sephardic against the Ashkenazic and the Polish *Minhagim* for use in this country; while Dr. Einhorn, Dr. Samuel Hirsch, Dr. Szold and Dr. Jastrow contended for the retention of German in the services, Wise vigorously opposed them all. He alone had fully emancipated himself from alien control. He alone clearly saw that life was creating here a new and distinctive American Israel. He became the avowed protagonist of an American Judaism. He would have the universal and eternal content of Judaism find expression in a form and spirit consistently and avowedly American.

In that cause he fought the great fight of his life. Mild, kindly and lovable as he was personally, in the championship of his cause he was aggressive and fearless as a gladiator in the arena. Yet he never harbored personal resentment against an opponent. Herein his example should shame the petty rabbinical squabbles of our day. I recall one who had received many kindnesses from Dr. Wise, but who had meanly and cynically attacked him in the press. The man came hither from another city and appeared unexpectedly at the College. We were all greatly agitated at this effrontery. Dr. Wise treated his antagonist with scrupulous courtesy. When later we students expressed our surprise he said: "Under this roof I must observe the laws of hospitality even to a foe."

The intensity of his convictions, his unbounded moral courage

added to his extraordinary powers of initiative and execution made him the pioneer leader of our Reform movement. He enfranchised the Jewish woman, brought her from her place of seclusion in the gallery to be united with husband and children in the family pew. He organized the first choir of men and women and lent to the public worship the emotional appeal of song and the spiritual uplift of music. He brought order and devotion into the services by insisting on decorum and unison in worship and by preaching in the English language. He brought into recognition the claims of the child in the synagog and introduced the Confirmation to which girls were admitted with the boys.

It would be unfair to one of his strongest motives to infer that in all these innovations he was animated by an overmastering individualism. If there is any one principle he emphasized more strongly than others from first to last, it was his insistence on the force and value of the living tradition. He sought for the support of the consensus of rabbinical wisdom, experience and force of character to provide the weight of authority and to lend the impress of its sanction to the new life of the new synagog in the new world. Alas, how vain were these efforts to secure unity among the rabbis of his day. In them the individualistic devotion to their varied European heritage was ineradicable. From the first efforts of the *Beth Din* to which he was appointed by Lilienthal, through the early conferences at Philadelphia, Cleveland and Cincinnati, he contended for unity, but in vain. His vision discerned that to make union possible he must await the fulfillment of that process by which there was destined to be created here a new generation of rabbis, the product of the American spirit, men homogeneous in training and outlook. At last in 1889, at Detroit, a group of rabbis in full sympathy with his aims and reinforced by the first twenty graduates of the Hebrew Union College organized the Central Conference of American Rabbis. Seated by his side, as first Secretary of the Conference, I noted the gleam of pride and satisfaction with which he proclaimed the unanimous adoption of the article which declared "The object of this organization shall be to foster a feeling of association and brotherhood among

the rabbis and other Jewish scholars of America; to advance the cause of Jewish learning and to encourage all efforts towards the propagation of Judaism."

Ten years later on this very day, the Conference assembled here, to honor the 80th birthday of its founder and President. As this Conference was the last great creation of his genius, so were the honors then bestowed upon him the crowning tributes of his noble life. This his beloved congregation, the whole city, indeed the entire country shared with us in the lavish outpouring of generous gifts and eloquent tokens. His eye was undimmed and his natural force unabated. His voice rang out clear as a bell when at the midnight hour of our closing festival he spoke to us. Modestly he set aside all the temptations of vainglory. Do you not still hear, you who were privileged to be present, the prophetic utterance that fell from his lips when he declared that within a quarter of a century the religion of the thinking men of the world would coincide in spirit and in conviction with the ethical monotheism of our Prophets which is the essence of Reform Judaism!

Did we attribute his outburst of exuberant optimism to the genial sentiments quickened by the triumphs he had lived to celebrate? Let us not hold so cheaply the serious pronouncements a man makes at the summit of eighty years of life's experiences standing face to face with eternity. As Moses of old, in his parting injunctions to his people, rose to prophetic heights so did our master when he uttered those words that proved to be his valedictory to the conference he had called into being. We can see now how across the century the light that had been kindled in his soul gleamed with fullest brilliancy at the last. Across the two decades that have since passed, he seems now to stretch a hand through the silence into this hour. We feel its touch in the moral impulse this commemoration puts upon our spirits.

We are witnesses of the tremendous changes wrought by the world war. These changes have brought American Israel to a place of leadership in the stirring drama of events in which the weal or woe of Israel is being decided. The immediate opportunity and responsibility is at hand to utilize the three-fold

blessings that are ours, so that their benefits may come to be shared by our brethren in all lands. American Israel called under the providence of God to the regal privileges of this land has already exceeded the boldest dreams of philanthrophy by sending her millions in money to succor the broken and helpless Jewries of the old world. These material gifts in whatever measure the call of need may require, will surely be given, but they fade into minor significance as compared with the spiritual benefits we must endeavor to bestow.

The notable contribution made by American Jews to our government in the army and navy, in the councils of the nation and in all fields of civic service at home and abroad, have brought to us rare prestige. And now for the first time in the whole course of history the opportunity has arisen to lay the cause of Israel before the Allied Powers of the civilized world in Conference at Paris. Ours is the right and duty to demand that the scandal which has disgraced Christianity these two thousand years shall cease; that the blood of the innocents shed by Inquisitions, Crusades and Pogroms shall be requited by the granting of full and equal human rights, not alone in Palestine, but in every land.

Thank God, today all American Israel speaks in unison at the Peace Conference and blends its appeal with that of our liberated brethren of England and France. A delegation of some of our most eminent leaders has gone abroad, empowered by the President of this Conference and by the President of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations to combine with the representatives of all the other organizations of American Jews in the demand that guarantees for full emancipation of our people everywhere shall be included in the solemn Covenant of the League of Nations. Behold the vision of Union in Israel cherished by our great leader coming true! We stand before the most momentous hour of history in awed reverence and trustfulness:

> "The old order changeth, yielding place to the new,
> And God fulfils Himself in many ways!"

Into this new order that must eventually rise from the deso

lated Jewries of the old world it must be the duty of American Israel to infuse the spirit of that second blessing we have come to enjoy—the spirit of a free and unhampered intellectual life. Reared in that atmosphere our souls revolt against the refinements of cruelty practiced on the sensitive souls of our brethren abroad by the limitation of their privileges of education. But a small percentage of Jews have been permitted to attend the schools, colleges and universities in Eastern Europe and, as a rule, only subordinate positions were accessible to them in the halls of learning and the professions even in the lands of Western Europe. Against this iniquitous system we must bring to bear every pressure.

Moreover the general collapse of the European centers of Jewish learning has shifted to American Israel the supreme responsibility for keeping alive the fires of learning here. The Hebrew Union College which pioneered the way for all kindred organizations and movements in this land must still lead in the great work of reconstruction the future will demand. We must see to it that the sunlight and pure air of the era of enlightenment shall penetrate the musty systems of the old-world *yeshiboth*. Multitudes here and abroad are still subjected to the routine of a dreary formalism which, while it sharpens the intellect, too often leaves the heart dull. The new Education we cherish is vital not alone with what stimulates best endeavors of the mind, but definitely aims to strengthen the moral and spiritual forces for the actual struggles of life. When the emancipation of the mind from the shackles of medieval thought shall have been secured, we shall not fail to see everywhere the onward sweep of that third tide of influence—which shall proclaim the religious reformation Dr. Wise predicted for all thinking men and women.

The old autocracy which kept the synagog bound to the rigid formularies of a final code is destined to fall, because there is no final code. We know that to the unfoldment of the religious life each era has made its own contribution. The unfettered mind apprehends the true values of these tributaries and keeps the stream of progress unclogged. The war has in fact hastened the fulfillment of Dr. Wise's prophecy. The cooperation of all

sects and creeds in conserving the religious and moral welfare of our armies and navies has shown that the democracy of religion is now a living issue in the world. America's great experiment in the separation of Church and State has proven that spontaneous religious life freed from political domination is the most ardent and sincere. It has also shown how we can rid mankind of the curse of religious wars and bigotries. We spent ourselves freely and unreservedly in this great war, with the blood of our men and the agony of our women, to help teach the Old World the supreme dictum of our ancient prophets—that nations no less than individuals must bow to the divine supremacy of the moral law. Twenty-seven nations are allied today in one cause laboring to adjust the future relations of mankind by the solemn covenant of a League, such as Micah and Isaiah foreshadowed, wherein by the eternal standards of right

> "God shall judge between many peoples,
> And shall decide concerning mighty nations afar off;
> And they shall beat their swords into plowshares,
> And their spears into pruning hooks;
> Nation shall not lift up sword against nation,
> Neither shall they learn war any more."

At a time when these exalted ideals of our faith are brought down from the cloudlands of vision and are become the practical issues of statesmen and legislators, we are amazed to hear the voice of reactionaries ridicule "the mission of Israel." At a time when the Jew through the sublime principles for which he suffered and endured throughout the ages is serving as the conciliator and redeemer of mankind, we are blatantly informed by Socialist-Nationalist groups that religion is negligible and subordinate to race, nationality and culture. Are these then the true prophets and was Dr. Wise a false prophet? Was it all a vain struggle—the agony of his years to loose the bonds and set us free to witness to the world by our work and our worth in behalf of the lofty universalism of Israel's faith?

H

INTIMATE SKETCHES OF ISAAC M. WISE

I

WISE'S EARLY CAREER

Gotthard Deutsch

In the northwestern corner of what was until lately the Austrian province of Bohemia, bordering on Saxony on the north and on Bavaria to the west, is the district of Eger, historically famous as the headquarters of the imperial army during the War of Thirty Years, and where the ambitious commander-in-chief of the imperial army, Count Albrecht Wallenstein, was assassinated, an event immortalized by Schiller in his trilogy.

The city of Eger, at one time the seat of an important congregation, as is still indicated in the frequency of Eger as a Jewish family name, followed the example given by numerous German cities in the fifteenth century by expelling its Jews. It is quite probable that, like elsewhere, these exiles obtained a shelter on the estates of the nobles in the villages of the neighborhood, from which they returned to the places of their former residences when the liberal legislation of 1848 made it possible.

One of these villages is Steingrub, which, according to the last census accessible to me, has a population of 534 souls, of whom probably there is not a single Jew. The Jewish congregation has long ago ceased to exist. There Isaac M. Wise was born, the son of the minister of the Jewish congregation, on the third of Nisan, 5579 (March 29, 1819). The life of a minister in these diminutive congregations, who was at the same time rabbi, *ḥazan, mohel,* teacher and sexton, is vividly described, though somewhat idealized, by Daniel Ehrman, a native of the same section of Bohemia (1815-1882), in his novel, *Die Tante.*

It was a life of poverty, and often embittered by overbearing "bosses" and family feuds between the various factions that existed even in these tiny congregations. It is a testimony to Wise's idealism that under such circumstances he remained attached to the ideal of his childhood that he would devote his life to the service of Judaism.

The political condition of the Jews in Bohemia was shaped by the general political situation of Austria, ruled by the bigoted Philistine, Francis I., and governed by Prince Metternich, then the leading statesman of Europe. The fundamental idea of Metternich's policy, heartily indorsed by his master, was to keep everything in *statu quo,* always the handiest policy for bureaucracy. The French July revolution of 1830 was entirely ignored, and so the Jewish question, which then occupied a prominent place in the politics of Southern Germany and of England, did not exist for Metternich and Emperor Francis. All ideas of improvement were confined to an endeavor to promote secular education and to occasional promises of a gradual attempt to remove the worst disabilities from which the Jews suffered, as His Majesty graciously expressed it in a decree, dated April 30, 1833. The only tangible improvement was the abrogation of the special Jew taxes in 1846 by a compromise sum—and this again is typical of Austrian conditions—to be paid in six annual installments. Another measure of relief, equally half-hearted, was a decree issued in 1841, that rabbis and teachers should be exempted from the restriction imposed on Jewish marriages. The old Pharaonic policy dictated by the fear "lest the children of Israel increase," which imposed in all countries of Europe such restrictions, was legalized in Bohemia so that no more than 8,600 Jewish households were allowed to exist. It was a concession to the spirit of the new era that rabbis and teachers should be allowed to marry regardless of the existing status.

The government, which in so many ways hedged in the civic rights and the economic activity of the Jews, was remarkably solicitous of their intellectual progress, a convenient excuse, as we shall see, for keeping them under these restrictions. As early as 1797 an imperial patent for Bohemia demanded that the rabbis acquire secular education. An imperial order, dated Jan-

uary 29, 1820, extended this requirement to the whole empire. The Landrabbiner of Moravia, Marcus Benedikt, and the rabbis of Prague, Samuel Landau and Eleazar Fleckeles, timidly advanced some reasons against the practicability of such a law, not daring to attack it in theory, but for the Italian provinces of Austria, which then comprised a considerable part of Northern Italy, such an institution was opened in 1829 in Padua.

The rabbinate of Bohemia was then largely represented by disciples of Ezekiel Landau (1713-1793), for nearly forty years chief rabbi of Prague, who, with his contemporary, Elijah Wilna (1720-1797), is the most vigorous expounder of eighteenth century orthodoxy, opposing both the secularist movement of the Mendelssohn school and the mystic school of Ḥasidism, which then carried on an active propaganda under the disciples of Baer of Mezdzyrzec (c. 1700-1772). The most prominent of these disciples officiating at the time of Isaac M. Wise's childhood were Landau's successors in the rabbinate of Prague, his son, Samuel (c. 1750-1834), Eleazar Fleckeles (1754-1826), and Samuel Loew Kauders (c. 1762-1838). Wise could have hardly known these men, but he knew, as he reported, Ephraim Loew Teweles (1775-1849), who entered the rabbinate of Prague after the death of Kauders, and Samuel Freund (1795-1881), who, though not a disciple of Ezekiel Landau's, carried the latter's antagonism to all modernism into the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Wise also came under the influence of another representative of the ideals of the eighteenth century, Rabbi Aaron Kornfeld, of Goltch-Jenikau (1795-1881), who, like his father, Mordecai Baer, a faithful disciple of Landau's, made a livelihood from a business which he conducted, while he devoted most of his time to Talmudic studies and to a *yeshibah* over which he presided. Such living examples of the way in which Jewish scholars lived up to the Talmudic injunction not to make the Torah a spade to dig with and a crown to glory in, were not infrequent in those days. Prague had a remarkable specimen at that time in Judah Teweles (1807-1869), a great Talmudist, who supported himself by his trade of a watchmaker.

These men, while faithful to Ezekiel Landau's principles in maintaining the traditional viewpoint of rabbinic Judaism in its

legal aspect, had outgrown the master's opposition to secular studies, as we can see from the respect with which Eleazar Fleckeles quotes Mendelssohn and Hartwig Wessely. Yet the government in typical Austrian fashion meddled with their activities, demanding that the *yeshibahs* keep records and follow a curriculum (Order of Dec. 3, 1827). This paternalism was unnecessary, for the *yeshibahs* kept on declining, and with the opening of access to professions in 1848 soon died out completely. Prague was one of the first congregations to follow the advice, given by Wessely in his *Dibre Shalom weemet,* and opened a secular school in 1782. Ezekiel Landau had to tolerate it, for he dared not oppose a measure in which the Emperor himself took a lively personal interest, and his disciples became convinced of its necessity. The Mendelssohn school had two prominent representatives in Prague, one Herz Homberg (1759-1841), who, as tutor of Mendelssohn's oldest children, had been under the personal influence of the Berlin sage, and one, Peter Beer (1758-1838), who was inspired by his works. The ideal of harmonizing Judaism with the demands of the age, especially through secular culture, was universally recognized when Wise came to Prague as a student.

Unfortunately the man who was destined to make history was not interested in writing it. We know little of conditions which influenced him during the most impressionable period of his life. Personally he spoke to me of Herz Homberg, who was retired when Wise came to Prague, and whom he used to accompany on his walks. From Mrs. Rosa Aufrecht, the wife of Louis Aufrecht, one of the earliest teachers of the Hebrew Union College, who was among his earliest pupils in Ronsperg, Bohemia, I heard that Falk Kohn, the Kreisrabbiner of the district, bestowed on him the *Morenu* title. I also heard from his brother-in-law, the publisher, Edward Bloch, and from Adam Sattler, who was teacher in Radnitz, while Wise was rabbi there, that while teaching school and tutoring, Wise studied under Rabbi Falk. The latter, judging from the Responsa of his published in the collection of Samuel Loew Kauders (*Olat Shemuel,* Prague, 1823), was, like his correspondent, a representative of the school of Ezekiel Landau, previously characterized. While it is impossible

to trace individual influences on Wise's early life, we are better enabled to judge the influences of the general conditions.

Old-fashioned Talmudism was rapidly dying out. The rising generation was eager to acquire secular culture. The learned Talmudists were, even in Landau's days, a small minority of the congregation. The masses of the population had just enough knowledge of Hebrew to follow the services in the synagog, and were bare of all secular education. Occasional notes give us an insight into this condition. In 1824 the few Jews living in Karlsbad, which is in the vicinity of Wise's home, received one of the periodical orders of expulsion issued by the city council, eager to maintain its privilege *de non tolerandis Judaeis.* They were asked to sign a receipt. Of twelve, only three could sign their names in German, two signed in Hebrew and the other seven were entirely illiterate. David Loewy (1821-1902), teacher and author, a native of Eidlitz, in the same section of the country, reports that in his youth only a few Jews could read German. The old-fashioned people were opposed to the teaching of grammar, because God had given men the power of speech, and he needed no schoolmaster to help him.

The rapidly spreading desire to acquire secular education was bound to have its influence on religious life, both in domestic practice and in the service of the synagog. A decree of the government, dated December 31, 1821, rather amusing in a priest-ridden country, demanded the *Beseitigung veralteter, mit den Verhaeltnissen zum Staat contrastierender Andachtsformeln.* A little earlier in the same year (Sept., 1818), it demanded that the rabbis permit Jewish children to write on Sabbath. Vienna opened its temple, with I. N. Mannheimer as preacher and Solomon Sulzer as cantor, in 1826. Prague followed with its *Tempel fuer geregelten Gottesdienst,* opened on the emperor's birthday, April 19, 1837. The reforms were of a mild type. They consisted of a German sermon, of a trained choir of boys, of the abrogation of the auctioning off of the synagog honors, and perhaps of the dropping of some *Piyyutim* from the holy day service. The belief in the cultural value of such services were so strong that it inspired some Christians with the desire of assisting it. Count Cajetan Berchem-Heimhausen, lord of the manorial estate to

which the old Jewish congregation of Kuttenplan belonged, donated to this congregation a fund from the interest of which a preacher should be salaried *von unserem Jahrhundert angemessenen den Landesgesetzen nicht entgegenstehenden Reformgesinnungen ergluehend.* This was done in 1843, when Wise entered the ministry in the same section of the country. In 1846, when he sailed for the land which he desired to make his home, longing for a place where no benevolent lord of manor and no officious bureaucrat was needed to give direction to Jewish inspirations, Rabbi David Pick, of Teplitz, the successor of the conservative Zechariah Frankel, abrogated the second holy day, though his congregation would not follow him. In the same year Meir Dormitzer, contractor-farmer of the Jew taxes, published in Prague a Hebrew pamphlet, *Ashru Hamoz,* advocating the alleviation of some especially oppressive dietary laws. These ideas were the inspirations which Isaac M. Wise took with him across the ocean, and though he followed more radical lines, his whole career afterwards shows the inspiration received from the post-Mendelssohn school of his early youth, the firm belief of a harmonization of Israel's ideals and traditions with those of spiritual progress and political freedom. In an essay dated February 14, 1849, he outlines his principles, saying, "I am a reformer. No one can stop the stream of time, but my basis was always the *Halachah.*"

II

WISE AS A PREACHER

CHARLES S. LEVI

When in bible times one of the House of Israel came to a prophet to seek counsel and inspiration, and it was neither *shabbos* nor *yomtov,* the prophet said: "Why do you come today to me and it is neither the new moon nor the Sabbath?" And so we ask ourselves today, why do we come here to the home of the true prophet of American Israel when it is neither the Sab-

not wish to be rich, nor honored, nor recognized, nor beloved. I will do my duty. I will remain true to my conviction."[2]

And he did spurn riches and honor. He did do his duty. He did stand by his convictions. He fearlessly went about his work advocating what he believed to be true and right. Those were the days in which the so-called guardians of Israel did not merely attack principles and measures, they attacked persons and men. They cast insulting epithets at Dr. Wise, called him an apostate, and renegade, read him out of Judaism, but he stood heroically by his guns. He, too, knew how to wield the mace of religious disputation and could hold his own with the best of them. He not only defended himself against the attacks from within, but he became the doughty champion of the Jew against the vile lies and slanders heaped upon him by those from without. Whenever and by whomsoever the fair name of the Jew was traduced, Dr. Wise stepped into the breach and called the maligners to account in no uncertain terms. He was the real guardian of the Jewish name and the Jewish cause. He was an antidefamation league all in himself. He was among the first to denounce, without gloves, the missionary mongers who attacked the Jews and the Talmud and who carried on their conversion business among the Jews in the last half of the last century. He writes in regard to this matter as follows: "A company of English missionaries plied the conversion business in New York systematically with the aid of their own magazine, and there was no one in the great city of New York who objected to their proceedings. I cannot deny that these things disgusted me, but for this very reason I proceeded against them maliciously, wrote articles filled with fire and brimstone instead of with becoming and polite words, forgetting for the time that I was a clergyman. I did not mind the abuse to which I was subjected, and cared not though the rabble cried *Hep! Hep!* I struck right and left so violently that the sparks flew in all directions. I belabored everyone who spoke against the Jews and Judaism and the Talmud, and used both fists on the principle, two kicks for

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[2] Reminiscences, pages 266-7.

one blow; in short, I became a malicious, biting, pugnacious, challenging monster of the pen."[3]

In season and out of season, in the columns of the *Israelite,* Dr. Wise protested against calling this a Christian nation. He was the most outspoken champion of a complete divorcement between church and state. He protested against the issuing of Thanksgiving proclamations by the Governors of the various States. He fought the attempts of narrow creedists for the recognition of God in the Constitution of the United States. He stood out boldly and courageously against the introduction of the Bible in the public schools. He agitated, issued manifestoes, called meetings, traveled back and forth to urge the United States authorities to take a stand against the discriminations which were made against the Jews in the Swiss Treaty. He took up arms against Russia's discrimination against *the Jews* in the Passport question. He denounced Grant for issuing his infamous order No. 11, expelling Jews, as a class, from his department. He protested in all these instances, not as a Jew, but as a citizen of this free land that is neutral on all questions of religion. More than once he defended the cause of the Catholics when questions of a similar nature were taken up with regard to them. He protested in all these instances, even though, as he himself informs us, "demagogues and idiots decried us as a traitor, a secessionist, a sympathizer with treason." It took courage in those early days to fight the righteous fight of the Jews and Judaism of this country. But that was the great task to which Dr. Wise had dedicated and consecrated his life work, and no obstacles, however insurmountable, could check him in his determination to labor toward the realization of his hopes and ideals. He cared not for riches and honors. He cared for the Jews and Judaism. He did more for them than did all of his traducers and maligners. His journalistic enterprises aided him greatly in bringing about the wonderful results which he achieved. American Jewish journalism has produced no writer who can begin to compare with Dr. Wise in the influence which he exercised over the Jews of America, and the practical results which he achieved for American Israel. Dr. Isaac Mayer Wise is easily the most outstanding Jewish journalist of this country.

[3] Reminiscences, pages 272-3.

VII

THE CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS*

Joseph Silverman

After the late Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise had founded the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Hebrew Union College, he turned his attention to unite the rabbinate of America. He felt that without unity among rabbis, concerted action regarding the many problems that affected American Jewry was impossible. Thirty-five or forty years ago there arose many serious questions regarding the transition from Orthodoxy to Reform and the adjustment of Reform to new conditions, and these required careful deliberation and judicious decisions. There were questions relating to unification of the many different rituals and the varieties of forms and ceremonies in use relating to Jewish religious instruction, apostasy, intermarriage, receiving of converts, proper observance of the Sabbath, the institution of Sunday services, confirmation as a substitute for *Bar Mizwah,* observance of Passover and other festivals, means and methods for reviving the interest of young Israel, and for bringing the large body of unaffiliated into the synagog.

There had been rabbinical conferences from time to time which Dr. Wise attended and at some of which he presided, but the results of such conferences were unsatisfactory, because instead of leading to harmony, they often provoked more discord. Dr. Wise determined to wait until several classes had been graduated from the Hebrew Union College. At last in July, 1889, when the Union of American Hebrew Congregations met in the city of Detroit, Mich., and its council was attended by upward of thirty rabbis, including nearly all those who had been graduated from the Hebrew Union College, Dr. Wise felt that the time was ripe for action. Upon his call the rabbis, then in Detroit, assembled and organized themselves into the Central Conference of American Rabbis and elected Dr. Wise as the President.

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*This paper was not read at the convention of the Conference.—Editor.

This was the beginning of the largest, strongest, and most influential rabbinical organization that has ever been called together in modern times. It meets annually and at such other times as may be deemed necessary. Its annual sessions are well attended, usually by fifty or sixty percent of its membership, which now counts over 200 rabbis. In thirty years of its existence, as the Yearbooks of the Conference show, a vast amount of work has been accomplished, of which it is worthy to record the Union Prayer-books, the Union Hymnal, which are now in use in about 200 Reform congregations, and valuable decisions upon the important subjects enumerated above. Besides, the Central Conference of American Rabbis serves as a bond of union among the rabbis themselves as a means of interchange of ideas, of the removal of misunderstanding and conflict, and of bringing the rabbis as a body into closer touch with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations with which it is directly affiliated in many important states of the country in furtherance of proper legislation in the interest of the Jewish cause.

VIII

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF WISE

SAMUEL WOLFENSTEIN

It was in the fall of 1870. I had been in this country only a few months, installed as rabbi of B'nai El Congregation since the fall holidays, when I came in contact with Dr. Isaac M. Wise, of sainted memory, for the first time.

A member of my congregation—a young, enthusiastic man, born and bred in this country and to my pleasant surprise, a fine German scholar, had been so deeply impressed with one of my sermons, which, as a matter of course, I had preached in German—the only language I then was able to speak, that he asked me to let him have my manuscript of the sermon.

Without telling me a word, he sent it to Dr. Wise in Cincinnati, who then published besides the "Israelite," a German weekly called "Die Deborah."

To my surprise I received a letter from Dr. Wise, asking me whether I consented to have my sermon published in "The Deborah." At the same time he extended to me a hearty welcome to this country with the hope that he may soon have the pleasure of my personal acquaintance. Now, I had heard of Dr. Wise while still in Europe. I had brought with me a few letters of introduction from some of my older colleagues in Vienna and Berlin to New York rabbis. They had no connection with Dr. Wise, but mentioned him to me as a prominent man in America.

During the few weeks that I had stopped over in New York, I heard some pretty harsh talks about the Cincinnati rabbi on the part of some of the then living New York rabbis. To judge from the way and manner they talked about him, he must have been some kind of a terror.

And here I had received a letter so pleasant and lovable, that I longed for the occasion to meet him personally. Of course, I replied, had my sermon published in "The Deborah," and gradually I exchanged some pleasant letters with him. A few months later I received a call, signed by Dr. Wise and Dr. Lilienthal to attend a conference of rabbis to be held in Cincinnati. I responded to the call, but concluded to make a trip to Cincinnati before the date of the conference, in order to make the personal acquaintance of Dr. Wise and his colleague, Dr. Lilienthal.

I shall never forget the hearty "Shalom Alechem" which I received from both of these colleagues—both of them a good deal my seniors. Dr. Wise insisted that I stop with him, which I did.

We remained good and loyal friends from the day we first met. I stood by him in every one of his undertakings—having been always among the first of his co-workers. We participated in each other's joys and sorrows.

When I entered upon my duties as Superintendent of the Cleveland Jewish Orphan Asylum, in July, 1878, he came to Cleveland to see me installed, as he told me. He had thought a great deal of my predecessor and seemed to have been much concerned about who would succeed him. Addressing Mr. Abraham Aub, who was then the President of the Orphan Asylum, and a prominent member of Dr. Wise's congregation in Cincinnati, he told him in my presence: "Your Board has acted more

wisely than you know, by having selected Wolfenstein as your Superintendent."

He came again to Cleveland to witness my first anniversary celebration in July, 1879. I shall never forget an incident at that celebration. I had arranged a public examination of many classes for Sunday forenoon—a feature which was always very popular at the anniversary celebrations. I presented a class of my own—six boys and four girls—who were quite far advanced in the study of Hebrew. The examiner by his questions seemed to puzzle the children. They looked to me in their embarrassment, but, of course, I would not interfere. Dr. Wise, who sat there as a very interested witness, arose, and addressing the examiner, said: "One of the first principles of our country is fairness; you are not fair to these children. I believe they know a great deal more than you get out of them. I know a little Hebrew myself, and since I am much interested in boys who know Hebrew, for I want pupils for our college, I shall examine this class myself." And so he did. The class answered every question promptly and with great credit to themselves, and, when at the conclusion one of the girls volunteered to recite by heart the whole "Swan Song of Moses," "Haazinah," Deuteronomy, Chapter 32, there was tremendous applause by the audience and the children, when the girl finished reciting the forty-three verses of the chapter.

The girl is alive today, but she is a grandmother. One of the boys in the class entered the College in Cincinnati, from which he graduated in time, and now he is one of the shining lights of the American Jewish pulpit. Could I forget the letter I received from Dr. Wise and the article which he wrote and published in "The Deborah" at the time of the death of my wife in July, 1885. He honored me by inviting me to be the speaker in 1886 when the first ward of the Orphan Home was ordained as rabbi. I was with him when in 1889 he celebrated his 70th birthday. It was then when speaking to him about his retirement as rabbi emeritus—as I had been requested to approach him—he told me in quite forcible tones, "I want to die in harness." And so he did.

I saw and talked to him last at the celebration of his 80th

birthday in 1899. There never was a rabbi in this country and there never will be one who received the ovation that Dr. Wise did at that celebration. He was happy, enjoying the occasion and saying repeatedly, "I feel like a young man." We parted with a hearty handshake, both saying, "*Auf Wiedersehen.*" It was not to be. With heart full of the deepest grief—as though I had lost a father—I attended his funeral.

DISCUSSION

Mrs. Fannie Rauh—I deem it a great privilege to speak before this august body of my early association with Dr. Wise. I was one of his first pupils. I had gone to a private school and knew how to read Hebrew, but did not understand a word. Dr. Wise's school was conducted in the basement of his home in Albany. I also helped him form his first choir. I was also present when the disturbance took place on Rosh Hashanah while Dr. Wise was preaching. I helped carry the books away so that we could have services at his home the following day.

When he received the call to Cincinnati, he asked me if I would go to Cincinnati, and a few weeks after he left Albany I came here and became a teacher in one of the lower classes of his school, *The Talmud Yelodim Institute.* I helped him with his choir, and can well recall his walking up and down the room during rehearsals with a violin under his arm helping with the music. I read the proof of his first history, and for eleven months, while living in his home, I read all the proof for the *Israelite.* I was rewarded by being permitted to share in all his early work and experiences—he was my earliest friend.

Rabbi Kohler—I wish to say that I am in sympathy with the spirit that has moved not only this city, but the whole country, to honor the immortal name of Isaac M. Wise. I am able to add today one story of his noble traits which I am sure none of you has ever heard.

I was a son-in-law of Dr. Einhorn and was not always in sympathy with the early attempts and efforts of Wise. I sided, as was natural, with the leading men of the East, and there was

a wide gulf between the East and the West for a long time. As soon as it was decided that the Hebrew Union College should be started and a school for American Reform should be established on a sound basis we, the former opponents, were all of one mind and agreed to help Dr. Wise to bring lasting success to his great plan.

Not only did we assist in mapping out the schedule for the Hebrew Union College, but it was chiefly through the influence of Dr. Einhorn that the beloved and never-to-be-forgotten Dr. Mielziner came to Cincinnati. Dr. Einhorn wished the College to stand on a firm basis of scholarship that could not be challenged.

At the graduation of the first class of students I was invited to Cincinnati to be one of the examiners. It was a hot day—I did most of the examining. I was especially happy when I received an invitation from Dr. Wise to occupy his pulpit on the following Sabbath. In that sermon I gave to the American Jew the conviction which I felt that Isaac M. Wise was called by Providence to be the man of action in American Jewry. After I had preached for him, he asked me to his home out on the farm. I had some misgivings that in the discussion which would arise the old breach between the East and the West would be touched on. Dr. Wise took me by the hand and said: "I know you have now and then assailed me for this or that mistake or incorrect statement which I may have made. I know all that, but now I welcome you as a friend."

The noble and generous spirit of Wise again showed itself when the discussion arose about the Union Prayer-book and the Minhag America. I was present at that Conference in Atlantic City. Dr. Wise arose and spoke these remarkable words: "I want Union—union in our synagogs, and I will readily withdraw my Minhag America from the market in order to have union in spirit and in fact in American Jewry."

From that moment I had nothing but the highest admiration for Isaac M. Wise.

Rabbi Schulman—As a man who is not a graduate of the Hebrew Union College, but who has been honored by having had

conferred upon him the highest gift which this Conference can confer, namely, having been made its President, I would have felt that I had been deprived of a privilege and a joy had the morning closed without my having been permitted to say a word with reference to the revered and beloved master of American Judaism.

When a man becomes as great as Isaac M. Wise, he ceases to belong to his family, his city or exclusively to those with whom he worked and who naturally were close to him. He belongs to Israel—to the world.

I came in contact with Dr. Wise a few times and he impressed me as one of the biggest among the so-called great men and leaders whom I have had the pleasure of meeting—a man of deep heart, of generous spirit, of kindliness of life. An illustration of his great personality was given in Rochester in 1895. At that convention a question of theology was under discussion. Rabbi Rosenau and I brought in a resolution—we were on the wrong side. During the discussion Wise showed us our place. We said nothing in reply. After the session we went to the club. As I stood there alone, who should walk up but this aged Nestor, this leader in Judaism who had defeated me in debate. He put his hand on my shoulder and said, "You know, Schulman, I did hit you hard, but if I did not think so much of you I would not have taken the pains to hit so hard." This great man, a great leader—seventy years old and more—thinks it worth while to go to a young man of twenty-seven and make him feel good; he did not wish to use the weight of his authority to crush a younger man.

It shall ever be the sweetest and holiest memory of my life to have come into contact with Isaac M. Wise. Someone has said that if you want good—if you only will it enough you will get it,—you will get happiness and immortality. Isaac M. Wise's personality seems summed up in this. He willed good in a manner that surpassed any other personality in America and he got supreme happiness, the happiness which is the consequence of work well done. And by this work he won immortality not only in American Judaism, but in universal Israel.

I

WERE ISAAC M. WISE ALIVE TODAY

A PROGRAM FOR JUDAISM IN AMERICA

JULIAN MORGENSTERN

Were Isaac M. Wise alive today! It is a stimulating thought. For the conditions which exist in American Israel today, and the problems which demand solution, although of far larger scope and complexity, are none the less practically the same as those of his day, which, through his foresight, breadth of vision, indomitable will and energy and organizing, creative genius, he solved for his generation. Nay, more; he laid down the basic principle and pointed the way of the only possible solution of these problems for all generations.

His problem was then, and our problem is today, to create a living Judaism in America, a Judaism which shall base itself firmly upon the eternal principles which revelation and history have established, but which shall likewise comport fully with American life, shall adapt and apply its eternal principles to American problems and needs, and shall thus assist the Jews of America to live both as loyal, devoted Jews and as responsible, contributing American citizens. This was the vision, the aim and the problem of Isaac M. Wise in his day; just this is our vision, our aim, our problem today.

Almost immediately after landing in New York in 1846, Dr. Wise discovered both the problem and its solution. From the very beginning he labored indefatigably for the "Americanization of Judaism", as he put it. He declared that Judaism could be Americanized only by Jews who had completely absorbed the American spirit. "We must become American Jews as speedily

as possible. . . . We can not afford to continue as aliens one day longer", he wrote.

But he saw almost immediately that Judaism could not be Americanized by any one group or sect in American Israel. It needed the cooperation of all elements and forces. Union was the all-essential requisite to bring order out of the then existing chaos of Jewish life, beliefs and modes of worship. Americanization of Judaism was not to be imposed from without, but was to evolve from within. It was to be the work of all American Israel. Judaism in America could develop only as a democratic movement, because the spirit of both Judaism and Americanism is democratic. Freedom of opinion and speech is an axiom of Americanism. American Judaism could evolve only through the unrestricted right of all elements of American Jewry to hold and to utter their own particular beliefs.

But until systematically applied to the solution of the common problem through fair exchange of opinion and cooperative endeavor, the right of unrestricted thought and speech all too frequently leads to nothing positive and constructive, and may even terminate in anarchy. Differences of belief must be מחלקת לשם שמים Union and organization must be perfected under clear-visioned, consecrated leadership. Those were the conditions, that was the problem, and that was its solution in 1846, and in the three decades thereafter.

The first call for a union of all the forces in American Israel was issued by Dr. Wise in 1848. It led to nothing tangible. But it began the education of the Jews of America as to the necessity and benefits of union and of the evolution of an American Judaism. The Cleveland Conference followed in 1855. It, too, yielded no concrete results. But the very fact that it was held, and that representatives of various elements and tendencies in American Israel could meet to deliberate upon common problems, showed that in these seven years progress had been made. The Philadelphia Conference of 1869 not only marked a further step forward, but it showed Dr. Wise clearly in what circles he must work, and upon what foundations the structure of American Judaism must be built. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations was organized in 1874; the Hebrew Union College

opened its doors in 1875. It had taken Dr. Wise almost thirty years to effect the beginning of the practical realization of his vision.

A moment's thought will show that this was no accident. Probably Dr. Wise realized this better than anyone else. For in 1846 and in the years immediately following he had been himself a foreigner, as yet, despite good-will and high ideals, un-Americanized. Above all, he was ministering to a people for the most part foreign-born and foreign-educated, still speaking a foreign tongue and living in accordance with foreign standards. The American nation, too, was still comparatively in its infancy, with its distinctive national culture and ideals undeveloped. Actually it was divided into the two antagonistic groups of free and slave states. It needed the Civil War to complete what the Revolution had begun, and to establish firmly the principle of union and unity in our national government. A decade of upbuilding of the new, unified national spirit followed the Civil War. The centennial of 1876, commemorating the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of our national government, marked the climax of the development of this new Americanism.

In these thirty years conditions must have changed correspondingly within American Jewry. The older immigrants were succeeded by a generation largely American born and educated. In this period Jewish immigration into this country was comparatively small, and was, moreover, homogeneous, chiefly from the German states. Beginning with 1870 immigration increased, but this did not apparently affect the general trend of development. By this time, largely because of Dr. Wise's persistent and varying activities, Jewry in America had been united into a body that responded intuitively to the new spirit of Americanism. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Hebrew Union College, and, somewhat later, this Central Conference of American Rabbis were the products of this new spirit of union in America and in American Israel. The first part of Dr. Wise's task was accomplished. Now began the second part, the upbuilding of a living American Judaism through the agency of these institutions which his genius had created as the indispensable machinery for this great work.

But very soon the problem became complicated, and the work was correspondingly impeded. With the '80's the Russian-Jewish migration began. Within ten years the Jews who had been born in America, or had lived here sufficiently long to have thoroughly absorbed the American spirit and to have adapted themselves to its ways, were in the minority to the recent immigrants. Today they are probably outnumbered at least four or five to one.

Unlike their German predecessors, these newcomers were victims of persecution. They sought in America not so much larger economic opportunity as freedom from oppression and the right to live and worship without unjust restriction. They were almost all impoverished; many were destitute. The first and most urgent problem they presented was that of immediate relief of their physical and material needs. As the tide of immigration grew, this demand became larger and more imperative. In consequence we Jews of America have evolved a model system of relief.

But relief of impoverished fellow-Jews, both here and abroad, is only a temporary problem. Actually it has already solved itself very largely. And, though European conditions may once again cause a large Jewish migration hither, the machinery to cope therewith has been constructed and set in motion. Our resources are now infinitely larger, and the problem can never again become as commanding and all-absorbing as formerly. It has diverted attention from our main problem for a little over a generation and has complicated and impeded its solution, but it has not altered its nature and importance one whit.

But the economic problem was not the only stumbling-block in the way of steady and speedy evolution of a positive American Judaism. A far more serious obstacle is the lack of unity among the various elements of American Israel today. The German Jewish immigrants of the '40's, '50's, '60's and '70's came from out a fairly liberal environment. Their religious views and spirit were largely the product of the Reform movement in Germany during the first half of the nineteenth century. The leading rabbis and teachers of Judaism in America in those four decades were colleagues and disciples of the great German reformers. They transplanted to American soil German Reform Judaism.

In the free, progressive atmosphere of America it thrived exceedingly. Today it has become American Reform Judaism.

But is American Reform Judaism really American? Is it not, perhaps, merely an American adaptation of imported German Reform Judaism? It is a question difficult of final answer, and one upon which there will hardly be general agreement. Yet it must sooner or later be faced squarely and answered honestly and without reservation. The only correct answer can be found first, in the measure with which Reform Judaism in America enables and assists its adherents to live their daily lives as American citizens completely in accordance with the eternal, spiritual principles of Judaism, and second, in the measure with which it enables and assists them, living thus as Jews, and upholding the teachings and principles of Judaism as a religious system, to contribute to the solution of the moral, spiritual and religious problems which confront the American people as a whole, and the solution of which is essential to the upbuilding of American culture.

Reform Judaism was the offspring, rather tardily born, of the Reformation movement in Germany. It sprang from out a Protestant environment and reflected a Protestant point of view and a liberal, Protestant attitude toward ritual and the authority of tradition. It dealt at first, as was but natural, with superficial matters, with simplification of the ritual and ceremonial life and with closer adaptation of the practice of Judaism to the standards of German culture. This was in the main negative work, pulling down the old structure, but not yet building up the new. But before this positive work could be inaugurated systematically, the period of liberalism in Germany had passed. Reform Judaism there ceased its development, and for practically half a century stood absolutely still. Only recently has it resumed its onward course.

But here in America German Reform Judaism flourished. So long as the majority of Jews in America were immigrant Germans, German Reform Judaism completely satisfied their spiritual needs. It even expanded considerably because the spirit of early German liberalism accorded well with the spirit of Americanism. These German immigrants came speedily to feel

themselves completely American. And as they saw their imported German Reform Judaism adapting itself readily to the liberal, non-ritualistic, and rather negative American religious point of view, they came to believe that they had Americanized their Judaism sufficiently, and that it was now American Judaism.

Actually, however, what has been accomplished? There has been a continuation of the negative processes of reform, a further reduction of ritual and ceremonial practice until almost the minimum has been reached. Many ceremonies still big with meaning have been hastily and ignorantly discarded. A few positive reforms making for modernization of the temple ritual have been introduced. A significant, positive advance has been made in the development of the ceremony of confirmation in connection with the Shabuoth festival. And, in conformity with a tendency of modernism, woman has been accorded, or rather has won for herself, a position of approximate equality and responsibility in Jewish congregational life.

The prayer-book has been translated into the vernacular, and simplified and beautified considerably. A prayer for the United States Government and a few new prayers of high spiritual worth, but none the less of conventional, non-committal type, have been inserted. But the spirit is still largely the spirit of the German Reform Prayer-book, and, with the exception of the language, hardly anything indicates that our Union Prayer-book is an American product.

The truth is that American Reform Judaism is American not much deeper than the surface. It is regilded, as it were, with a thin coating of Americanism, but the body and soul beneath are still the body and soul of German Reform Judaism.

Meanwhile there are vital problems deeply affecting our life as individual men and women, problems about God, the meaning of life, the divine purpose of suffering, the efficacy of prayer, the truth about the future. We are beginning to think about religion as individuals, with modern education and culture, and with a certain disciplined religious knowledge. We have lost much of the old, conventional conception of Judaism as a religion for the Jewish people as a group. We are beginning to demand that Judaism speak to us as individuals also in words

other than the conventional phrases of pious dogma and theology, and that it satisfy our individual spiritual and mystical needs and cravings. For this reason the Kaddish has become the most effective and uplifting portion of our liturgy. It speaks to our inner soul and satisfies the longing for union with the departed. Undoubtedly for this reason also an increasing number of co-religionists, even while still sincerely professing themselves loyal Jews, seek personal comfort and help in Christian Science. It seems to them to offer something which they feel they need, and which Judaism does not give. What shall we do? We have denounced Christian Science Jews, and have even, in a way, read them out of Judaism. We have exposed with convincing logic the incompatibility of Judaism and Christian Science. Yet this has not checked one bit the drift of Jews toward that church. Might it not be that we have pursued a wrong course, and that we should ask, "What is wrong with Reform Judaism; is not something lacking in it, that so many of its adherents should feel compelled to turn to Christian Science?" In other words, does Reform Judaism in America minister completely to the daily spiritual needs of all its adherents? But this only by way of illustration.

Obviously, however, American Jews, children of American environment and culture, demand that American Judaism minister to the individual as well as to the group, that it answer the call of the heart as well as of the head, and that, instead of the language of cold theology and bloodless rationalism, it speak the language of warm feeling and emotion and enable its adherents, like Moses of old, to commune with God face to face, as a man communes with his friend.

There are likewise the various social and economic problems which today trouble, and even threaten, the structure of society, the problems of capital and labor, of the social evil, of the liquor traffic, of the rightful position of woman in society, of corruption in politics, of internationalism. What has Judaism in America to say authoritatively on these questions? To what extent has it determined its own answer as to the right and wrong in them, and sought to influence and mould the opinion of the American people accordingly? Many rabbis have spoken

not wish to be rich, nor honored, nor recognized, nor beloved. I will do my duty. I will remain true to my conviction."[2]

And he did spurn riches and honor. He did do his duty. He did stand by his convictions. He fearlessly went about his work advocating what he believed to be true and right. Those were the days in which the so-called guardians of Israel did not merely attack principles and measures, they attacked persons and men. They cast insulting epithets at Dr. Wise, called him an apostate, and renegade, read him out of Judaism, but he stood heroically by his guns. He, too, knew how to wield the mace of religious disputation and could hold his own with the best of them. He not only defended himself against the attacks from within, but he became the doughty champion of the Jew against the vile lies and slanders heaped upon him by those from without. Whenever and by whomsoever the fair name of the Jew was traduced, Dr. Wise stepped into the breach and called the maligners to account in no uncertain terms. He was the real guardian of the Jewish name and the Jewish cause. He was an antidefamation league all in himself. He was among the first to denounce, without gloves, the missionary mongers who attacked the Jews and the Talmud and who carried on their conversion business among the Jews in the last half of the last century. He writes in regard to this matter as follows: "A company of English missionaries plied the conversion business in New York systematically with the aid of their own magazine, and there was no one in the great city of New York who objected to their proceedings. I cannot deny that these things disgusted me, but for this very reason I proceeded against them maliciously, wrote articles filled with fire and brimstone instead of with becoming and polite words, forgetting for the time that I was a clergyman. I did not mind the abuse to which I was subjected, and cared not though the rabble cried *Hep! Hep!* I struck right and left so violently that the sparks flew in all directions. I belabored everyone who spoke against the Jews and Judaism and the Talmud, and used both fists on the principle, two kicks for

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[2] Reminiscences, pages 266-7.

one blow; in short, I became a malicious, biting, pugnacious, challenging monster of the pen."[3]

In season and out of season, in the columns of the *Israelite,* Dr. Wise protested against calling this a Christian nation. He was the most outspoken champion of a complete divorcement between church and state. He protested against the issuing of Thanksgiving proclamations by the Governors of the various States. He fought the attempts of narrow creedists for the recognition of God in the Constitution of the United States. He stood out boldly and courageously against the introduction of the Bible in the public schools. He agitated, issued manifestoes, called meetings, traveled back and forth to urge the United States authorities to take a stand against the discriminations which were made against the Jews in the Swiss Treaty. He took up arms against Russia's discrimination against *the Jews* in the Passport question. He denounced Grant for issuing his infamous order No. 11, expelling Jews, as a class, from his department. He protested in all these instances, not as a Jew, but as a citizen of this free land that is neutral on all questions of religion. More than once he defended the cause of the Catholics when questions of a similar nature were taken up with regard to them. He protested in all these instances, even though, as he himself informs us, "demagogues and idiots decried us as a traitor, a secessionist, a sympathizer with treason." It took courage in those early days to fight the righteous fight of the Jews and Judaism of this country. But that was the great task to which Dr. Wise had dedicated and consecrated his life work, and no obstacles, however insurmountable, could check him in his determination to labor toward the realization of his hopes and ideals. He cared not for riches and honors. He cared for the Jews and Judaism. He did more for them than did all of his traducers and maligners. His journalistic enterprises aided him greatly in bringing about the wonderful results which he achieved. American Jewish journalism has produced no writer who can begin to compare with Dr. Wise in the influence which he exercised over the Jews of America, and the practical results which he achieved for American Israel. Dr. Isaac Mayer Wise is easily the most outstanding Jewish journalist of this country.

[3] Reminiscences, pages 272-3.

VII

THE CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS*

Joseph Silverman

After the late Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise had founded the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Hebrew Union College, he turned his attention to unite the rabbinate of America. He felt that without unity among rabbis, concerted action regarding the many problems that affected American Jewry was impossible. Thirty-five or forty years ago there arose many serious questions regarding the transition from Orthodoxy to Reform and the adjustment of Reform to new conditions, and these required careful deliberation and judicious decisions. There were questions relating to unification of the many different rituals and the varieties of forms and ceremonies in use relating to Jewish religious instruction, apostasy, intermarriage, receiving of converts, proper observance of the Sabbath, the institution of Sunday services, confirmation as a substitute for *Bar Mizwah,* observance of Passover and other festivals, means and methods for reviving the interest of young Israel, and for bringing the large body of unaffiliated into the synagog.

There had been rabbinical conferences from time to time which Dr. Wise attended and at some of which he presided, but the results of such conferences were unsatisfactory, because instead of leading to harmony, they often provoked more discord. Dr. Wise determined to wait until several classes had been graduated from the Hebrew Union College. At last in July, 1889, when the Union of American Hebrew Congregations met in the city of Detroit, Mich., and its council was attended by upward of thirty rabbis, including nearly all those who had been graduated from the Hebrew Union College, Dr. Wise felt that the time was ripe for action. Upon his call the rabbis, then in Detroit, assembled and organized themselves into the Central Conference of American Rabbis and elected Dr. Wise as the President.

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*This paper was not read at the convention of the Conference.—Editor.

This was the beginning of the largest, strongest, and most influential rabbinical organization that has ever been called together in modern times. It meets annually and at such other times as may be deemed necessary. Its annual sessions are well attended, usually by fifty or sixty percent of its membership, which now counts over 200 rabbis. In thirty years of its existence, as the Yearbooks of the Conference show, a vast amount of work has been accomplished, of which it is worthy to record the Union Prayer-books, the Union Hymnal, which are now in use in about 200 Reform congregations, and valuable decisions upon the important subjects enumerated above. Besides, the Central Conference of American Rabbis serves as a bond of union among the rabbis themselves as a means of interchange of ideas, of the removal of misunderstanding and conflict, and of bringing the rabbis as a body into closer touch with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations with which it is directly affiliated in many important states of the country in furtherance of proper legislation in the interest of the Jewish cause.

VIII

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF WISE

SAMUEL WOLFENSTEIN

It was in the fall of 1870. I had been in this country only a few months, installed as rabbi of B'nai El Congregation since the fall holidays, when I came in contact with Dr. Isaac M. Wise, of sainted memory, for the first time.

A member of my congregation—a young, enthusiastic man, born and bred in this country and to my pleasant surprise, a fine German scholar, had been so deeply impressed with one of my sermons, which, as a matter of course, I had preached in German—the only language I then was able to speak, that he asked me to let him have my manuscript of the sermon.

Without telling me a word, he sent it to Dr. Wise in Cincinnati, who then published besides the "Israelite," a German weekly called "Die Deborah."

To my surprise I received a letter from Dr. Wise, asking me whether I consented to have my sermon published in "The Deborah." At the same time he extended to me a hearty welcome to this country with the hope that he may soon have the pleasure of my personal acquaintance. Now, I had heard of Dr. Wise while still in Europe. I had brought with me a few letters of introduction from some of my older colleagues in Vienna and Berlin to New York rabbis. They had no connection with Dr. Wise, but mentioned him to me as a prominent man in America.

During the few weeks that I had stopped over in New York, I heard some pretty harsh talks about the Cincinnati rabbi on the part of some of the then living New York rabbis. To judge from the way and manner they talked about him, he must have been some kind of a terror.

And here I had received a letter so pleasant and lovable, that I longed for the occasion to meet him personally. Of course, I replied, had my sermon published in "The Deborah," and gradually I exchanged some pleasant letters with him. A few months later I received a call, signed by Dr. Wise and Dr. Lilienthal to attend a conference of rabbis to be held in Cincinnati. I responded to the call, but concluded to make a trip to Cincinnati before the date of the conference, in order to make the personal acquaintance of Dr. Wise and his colleague, Dr. Lilienthal.

I shall never forget the hearty "Shalom Alechem" which I received from both of these colleagues—both of them a good deal my seniors. Dr. Wise insisted that I stop with him, which I did.

We remained good and loyal friends from the day we first met. I stood by him in every one of his undertakings—having been always among the first of his co-workers. We participated in each other's joys and sorrows.

When I entered upon my duties as Superintendent of the Cleveland Jewish Orphan Asylum, in July, 1878, he came to Cleveland to see me installed, as he told me. He had thought a great deal of my predecessor and seemed to have been much concerned about who would succeed him. Addressing Mr. Abraham Aub, who was then the President of the Orphan Asylum, and a prominent member of Dr. Wise's congregation in Cincinnati, he told him in my presence: "Your Board has acted more

wisely than you know, by having selected Wolfenstein as your Superintendent."

He came again to Cleveland to witness my first anniversary celebration in July, 1879. I shall never forget an incident at that celebration. I had arranged a public examination of many classes for Sunday forenoon—a feature which was always very popular at the anniversary celebrations. I presented a class of my own—six boys and four girls—who were quite far advanced in the study of Hebrew. The examiner by his questions seemed to puzzle the children. They looked to me in their embarrassment, but, of course, I would not interfere. Dr. Wise, who sat there as a very interested witness, arose, and addressing the examiner, said: "One of the first principles of our country is fairness; you are not fair to these children. I believe they know a great deal more than you get out of them. I know a little Hebrew myself, and since I am much interested in boys who know Hebrew, for I want pupils for our college, I shall examine this class myself." And so he did. The class answered every question promptly and with great credit to themselves, and, when at the conclusion one of the girls volunteered to recite by heart the whole "Swan Song of Moses," "Haazinah," Deuteronomy, Chapter 32, there was tremendous applause by the audience and the children, when the girl finished reciting the forty-three verses of the chapter.

The girl is alive today, but she is a grandmother. One of the boys in the class entered the College in Cincinnati, from which he graduated in time, and now he is one of the shining lights of the American Jewish pulpit. Could I forget the letter I received from Dr. Wise and the article which he wrote and published in "The Deborah" at the time of the death of my wife in July, 1885. He honored me by inviting me to be the speaker in 1886 when the first ward of the Orphan Home was ordained as rabbi. I was with him when in 1889 he celebrated his 70th birthday. It was then when speaking to him about his retirement as rabbi emeritus—as I had been requested to approach him—he told me in quite forcible tones, "I want to die in harness." And so he did.

I saw and talked to him last at the celebration of his 80th

birthday in 1899. There never was a rabbi in this country and there never will be one who received the ovation that Dr. Wise did at that celebration. He was happy, enjoying the occasion and saying repeatedly, "I feel like a young man." We parted with a hearty handshake, both saying, "*Auf Wiedersehen.*" It was not to be. With heart full of the deepest grief—as though I had lost a father—I attended his funeral.

DISCUSSION

Mrs. Fannie Rauh—I deem it a great privilege to speak before this august body of my early association with Dr. Wise. I was one of his first pupils. I had gone to a private school and knew how to read Hebrew, but did not understand a word. Dr. Wise's school was conducted in the basement of his home in Albany. I also helped him form his first choir. I was also present when the disturbance took place on Rosh Hashanah while Dr. Wise was preaching. I helped carry the books away so that we could have services at his home the following day.

When he received the call to Cincinnati, he asked me if I would go to Cincinnati, and a few weeks after he left Albany I came here and became a teacher in one of the lower classes of his school, *The Talmud Yelodim Institute.* I helped him with his choir, and can well recall his walking up and down the room during rehearsals with a violin under his arm helping with the music. I read the proof of his first history, and for eleven months, while living in his home, I read all the proof for the *Israelite.* I was rewarded by being permitted to share in all his early work and experiences—he was my earliest friend.

Rabbi Kohler—I wish to say that I am in sympathy with the spirit that has moved not only this city, but the whole country, to honor the immortal name of Isaac M. Wise. I am able to add today one story of his noble traits which I am sure none of you has ever heard.

I was a son-in-law of Dr. Einhorn and was not always in sympathy with the early attempts and efforts of Wise. I sided, as was natural, with the leading men of the East, and there was

a wide gulf between the East and the West for a long time. As soon as it was decided that the Hebrew Union College should be started and a school for American Reform should be established on a sound basis we, the former opponents, were all of one mind and agreed to help Dr. Wise to bring lasting success to his great plan.

Not only did we assist in mapping out the schedule for the Hebrew Union College, but it was chiefly through the influence of Dr. Einhorn that the beloved and never-to-be-forgotten Dr. Mielziner came to Cincinnati. Dr. Einhorn wished the College to stand on a firm basis of scholarship that could not be challenged.

At the graduation of the first class of students I was invited to Cincinnati to be one of the examiners. It was a hot day—I did most of the examining. I was especially happy when I received an invitation from Dr. Wise to occupy his pulpit on the following Sabbath. In that sermon I gave to the American Jew the conviction which I felt that Isaac M. Wise was called by Providence to be the man of action in American Jewry. After I had preached for him, he asked me to his home out on the farm. I had some misgivings that in the discussion which would arise the old breach between the East and the West would be touched on. Dr. Wise took me by the hand and said: "I know you have now and then assailed me for this or that mistake or incorrect statement which I may have made. I know all that, but now I welcome you as a friend."

The noble and generous spirit of Wise again showed itself when the discussion arose about the Union Prayer-book and the Minhag America. I was present at that Conference in Atlantic City. Dr. Wise arose and spoke these remarkable words: "I want Union—union in our synagogs, and I will readily withdraw my Minhag America from the market in order to have union in spirit and in fact in American Jewry."

From that moment I had nothing but the highest admiration for Isaac M. Wise.

Rabbi Schulman—As a man who is not a graduate of the Hebrew Union College, but who has been honored by having had

conferred upon him the highest gift which this Conference can confer, namely, having been made its President, I would have felt that I had been deprived of a privilege and a joy had the morning closed without my having been permitted to say a word with reference to the revered and beloved master of American Judaism.

When a man becomes as great as Isaac M. Wise, he ceases to belong to his family, his city or exclusively to those with whom he worked and who naturally were close to him. He belongs to Israel—to the world.

I came in contact with Dr. Wise a few times and he impressed me as one of the biggest among the so-called great men and leaders whom I have had the pleasure of meeting—a man of deep heart, of generous spirit, of kindliness of life. An illustration of his great personality was given in Rochester in 1895. At that convention a question of theology was under discussion. Rabbi Rosenau and I brought in a resolution—we were on the wrong side. During the discussion Wise showed us our place. We said nothing in reply. After the session we went to the club. As I stood there alone, who should walk up but this aged Nestor, this leader in Judaism who had defeated me in debate. He put his hand on my shoulder and said, "You know, Schulman, I did hit you hard, but if I did not think so much of you I would not have taken the pains to hit so hard." This great man, a great leader—seventy years old and more—thinks it worth while to go to a young man of twenty-seven and make him feel good; he did not wish to use the weight of his authority to crush a younger man.

It shall ever be the sweetest and holiest memory of my life to have come into contact with Isaac M. Wise. Someone has said that if you want good—if you only will it enough you will get it,—you will get happiness and immortality. Isaac M. Wise's personality seems summed up in this. He willed good in a manner that surpassed any other personality in America and he got supreme happiness, the happiness which is the consequence of work well done. And by this work he won immortality not only in American Judaism, but in universal Israel.

I

WERE ISAAC M. WISE ALIVE TODAY

A PROGRAM FOR JUDAISM IN AMERICA

JULIAN MORGENSTERN

Were Isaac M. Wise alive today! It is a stimulating thought. For the conditions which exist in American Israel today, and the problems which demand solution, although of far larger scope and complexity, are none the less practically the same as those of his day, which, through his foresight, breadth of vision, indomitable will and energy and organizing, creative genius, he solved for his generation. Nay, more; he laid down the basic principle and pointed the way of the only possible solution of these problems for all generations.

His problem was then, and our problem is today, to create a living Judaism in America, a Judaism which shall base itself firmly upon the eternal principles which revelation and history have established, but which shall likewise comport fully with American life, shall adapt and apply its eternal principles to American problems and needs, and shall thus assist the Jews of America to live both as loyal, devoted Jews and as responsible, contributing American citizens. This was the vision, the aim and the problem of Isaac M. Wise in his day; just this is our vision, our aim, our problem today.

Almost immediately after landing in New York in 1846, Dr. Wise discovered both the problem and its solution. From the very beginning he labored indefatigably for the "Americanization of Judaism", as he put it. He declared that Judaism could be Americanized only by Jews who had completely absorbed the American spirit. "We must become American Jews as speedily

as possible. . . . We can not afford to continue as aliens one day longer", he wrote.

But he saw almost immediately that Judaism could not be Americanized by any one group or sect in American Israel. It needed the cooperation of all elements and forces. Union was the all-essential requisite to bring order out of the then existing chaos of Jewish life, beliefs and modes of worship. Americanization of Judaism was not to be imposed from without, but was to evolve from within. It was to be the work of all American Israel. Judaism in America could develop only as a democratic movement, because the spirit of both Judaism and Americanism is democratic. Freedom of opinion and speech is an axiom of Americanism. American Judaism could evolve only through the unrestricted right of all elements of American Jewry to hold and to utter their own particular beliefs.

But until systematically applied to the solution of the common problem through fair exchange of opinion and cooperative endeavor, the right of unrestricted thought and speech all too frequently leads to nothing positive and constructive, and may even terminate in anarchy. Differences of belief must be מחלקת לשם שמים Union and organization must be perfected under clear-visioned, consecrated leadership. Those were the conditions, that was the problem, and that was its solution in 1846, and in the three decades thereafter.

The first call for a union of all the forces in American Israel was issued by Dr. Wise in 1848. It led to nothing tangible. But it began the education of the Jews of America as to the necessity and benefits of union and of the evolution of an American Judaism. The Cleveland Conference followed in 1855. It, too, yielded no concrete results. But the very fact that it was held, and that representatives of various elements and tendencies in American Israel could meet to deliberate upon common problems, showed that in these seven years progress had been made. The Philadelphia Conference of 1869 not only marked a further step forward, but it showed Dr. Wise clearly in what circles he must work, and upon what foundations the structure of American Judaism must be built. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations was organized in 1874; the Hebrew Union College

opened its doors in 1875. It had taken Dr. Wise almost thirty years to effect the beginning of the practical realization of his vision.

A moment's thought will show that this was no accident. Probably Dr. Wise realized this better than anyone else. For in 1846 and in the years immediately following he had been himself a foreigner, as yet, despite good-will and high ideals, un-Americanized. Above all, he was ministering to a people for the most part foreign-born and foreign-educated, still speaking a foreign tongue and living in accordance with foreign standards. The American nation, too, was still comparatively in its infancy, with its distinctive national culture and ideals undeveloped. Actually it was divided into the two antagonistic groups of free and slave states. It needed the Civil War to complete what the Revolution had begun, and to establish firmly the principle of union and unity in our national government. A decade of upbuilding of the new, unified national spirit followed the Civil War. The centennial of 1876, commemorating the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of our national government, marked the climax of the development of this new Americanism.

In these thirty years conditions must have changed correspondingly within American Jewry. The older immigrants were succeeded by a generation largely American born and educated. In this period Jewish immigration into this country was comparatively small, and was, moreover, homogeneous, chiefly from the German states. Beginning with 1870 immigration increased, but this did not apparently affect the general trend of development. By this time, largely because of Dr. Wise's persistent and varying activities, Jewry in America had been united into a body that responded intuitively to the new spirit of Americanism. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Hebrew Union College, and, somewhat later, this Central Conference of American Rabbis were the products of this new spirit of union in America and in American Israel. The first part of Dr. Wise's task was accomplished. Now began the second part, the upbuilding of a living American Judaism through the agency of these institutions which his genius had created as the indispensable machinery for this great work.

But very soon the problem became complicated, and the work was correspondingly impeded. With the '80's the Russian-Jewish migration began. Within ten years the Jews who had been born in America, or had lived here sufficiently long to have thoroughly absorbed the American spirit and to have adapted themselves to its ways, were in the minority to the recent immigrants. Today they are probably outnumbered at least four or five to one.

Unlike their German predecessors, these newcomers were victims of persecution. They sought in America not so much larger economic opportunity as freedom from oppression and the right to live and worship without unjust restriction. They were almost all impoverished; many were destitute. The first and most urgent problem they presented was that of immediate relief of their physical and material needs. As the tide of immigration grew, this demand became larger and more imperative. In consequence we Jews of America have evolved a model system of relief.

But relief of impoverished fellow-Jews, both here and abroad, is only a temporary problem. Actually it has already solved itself very largely. And, though European conditions may once again cause a large Jewish migration hither, the machinery to cope therewith has been constructed and set in motion. Our resources are now infinitely larger, and the problem can never again become as commanding and all-absorbing as formerly. It has diverted attention from our main problem for a little over a generation and has complicated and impeded its solution, but it has not altered its nature and importance one whit.

But the economic problem was not the only stumbling-block in the way of steady and speedy evolution of a positive American Judaism. A far more serious obstacle is the lack of unity among the various elements of American Israel today. The German Jewish immigrants of the '40's, '50's, '60's and '70's came from out a fairly liberal environment. Their religious views and spirit were largely the product of the Reform movement in Germany during the first half of the nineteenth century. The leading rabbis and teachers of Judaism in America in those four decades were colleagues and disciples of the great German reformers. They transplanted to American soil German Reform Judaism.

In the free, progressive atmosphere of America it thrived exceedingly. Today it has become American Reform Judaism.

But is American Reform Judaism really American? Is it not, perhaps, merely an American adaptation of imported German Reform Judaism? It is a question difficult of final answer, and one upon which there will hardly be general agreement. Yet it must sooner or later be faced squarely and answered honestly and without reservation. The only correct answer can be found first, in the measure with which Reform Judaism in America enables and assists its adherents to live their daily lives as American citizens completely in accordance with the eternal, spiritual principles of Judaism, and second, in the measure with which it enables and assists them, living thus as Jews, and upholding the teachings and principles of Judaism as a religious system, to contribute to the solution of the moral, spiritual and religious problems which confront the American people as a whole, and the solution of which is essential to the upbuilding of American culture.

Reform Judaism was the offspring, rather tardily born, of the Reformation movement in Germany. It sprang from out a Protestant environment and reflected a Protestant point of view and a liberal, Protestant attitude toward ritual and the authority of tradition. It dealt at first, as was but natural, with superficial matters, with simplification of the ritual and ceremonial life and with closer adaptation of the practice of Judaism to the standards of German culture. This was in the main negative work, pulling down the old structure, but not yet building up the new. But before this positive work could be inaugurated systematically, the period of liberalism in Germany had passed. Reform Judaism there ceased its development, and for practically half a century stood absolutely still. Only recently has it resumed its onward course.

But here in America German Reform Judaism flourished. So long as the majority of Jews in America were immigrant Germans, German Reform Judaism completely satisfied their spiritual needs. It even expanded considerably because the spirit of early German liberalism accorded well with the spirit of Americanism. These German immigrants came speedily to feel

themselves completely American. And as they saw their imported German Reform Judaism adapting itself readily to the liberal, non-ritualistic, and rather negative American religious point of view, they came to believe that they had Americanized their Judaism sufficiently, and that it was now American Judaism.

Actually, however, what has been accomplished? There has been a continuation of the negative processes of reform, a further reduction of ritual and ceremonial practice until almost the minimum has been reached. Many ceremonies still big with meaning have been hastily and ignorantly discarded. A few positive reforms making for modernization of the temple ritual have been introduced. A significant, positive advance has been made in the development of the ceremony of confirmation in connection with the Shabuoth festival. And, in conformity with a tendency of modernism, woman has been accorded, or rather has won for herself, a position of approximate equality and responsibility in Jewish congregational life.

The prayer-book has been translated into the vernacular, and simplified and beautified considerably. A prayer for the United States Government and a few new prayers of high spiritual worth, but none the less of conventional, non-committal type, have been inserted. But the spirit is still largely the spirit of the German Reform Prayer-book, and, with the exception of the language, hardly anything indicates that our Union Prayer-book is an American product.

The truth is that American Reform Judaism is American not much deeper than the surface. It is regilded, as it were, with a thin coating of Americanism, but the body and soul beneath are still the body and soul of German Reform Judaism.

Meanwhile there are vital problems deeply affecting our life as individual men and women, problems about God, the meaning of life, the divine purpose of suffering, the efficacy of prayer, the truth about the future. We are beginning to think about religion as individuals, with modern education and culture, and with a certain disciplined religious knowledge. We have lost much of the old, conventional conception of Judaism as a religion for the Jewish people as a group. We are beginning to demand that Judaism speak to us as individuals also in words

other than the conventional phrases of pious dogma and theology, and that it satisfy our individual spiritual and mystical needs and cravings. For this reason the Kaddish has become the most effective and uplifting portion of our liturgy. It speaks to our inner soul and satisfies the longing for union with the departed. Undoubtedly for this reason also an increasing number of co-religionists, even while still sincerely professing themselves loyal Jews, seek personal comfort and help in Christian Science. It seems to them to offer something which they feel they need, and which Judaism does not give. What shall we do? We have denounced Christian Science Jews, and have even, in a way, read them out of Judaism. We have exposed with convincing logic the incompatibility of Judaism and Christian Science. Yet this has not checked one bit the drift of Jews toward that church. Might it not be that we have pursued a wrong course, and that we should ask, "What is wrong with Reform Judaism; is not something lacking in it, that so many of its adherents should feel compelled to turn to Christian Science?" In other words, does Reform Judaism in America minister completely to the daily spiritual needs of all its adherents? But this only by way of illustration.

Obviously, however, American Jews, children of American environment and culture, demand that American Judaism minister to the individual as well as to the group, that it answer the call of the heart as well as of the head, and that, instead of the language of cold theology and bloodless rationalism, it speak the language of warm feeling and emotion and enable its adherents, like Moses of old, to commune with God face to face, as a man communes with his friend.

There are likewise the various social and economic problems which today trouble, and even threaten, the structure of society, the problems of capital and labor, of the social evil, of the liquor traffic, of the rightful position of woman in society, of corruption in politics, of internationalism. What has Judaism in America to say authoritatively on these questions? To what extent has it determined its own answer as to the right and wrong in them, and sought to influence and mould the opinion of the American people accordingly? Many rabbis have spoken

time and again on some, if not all of these questions, some hesitatingly and some boldly, some sanely and some demagogically. But has American Judaism, through this Conference, let us say, defined its official attitude on any one of these problems and announced this unequivocally to the world? On some possibly it has, but on the majority it has hesitated and temporized and drifted with the current. Not once has it been the first to speak and to take the lead in the application of Jewish ethical principles to modern problems and needs. Where is our boasted prophetic spirit and our dream of Israel's mission? And where is American Judaism's conscious and purposed contribution to American culture and ideals?

Above all, to what extent have we incorporated a positive attitude upon these and like questions, the attitude of supposedly American Judaism, into our prayer-book? A prayer-book is the real exponent of the spirit and ideals of any religion; it voices, or should voice, its innermost visions and aspirations. Where in our entire prayer-book do we find a single prayer for divine guidance in the solution of the specific problem of creative justice in the social and economic life of America, and for the spirit of unselfishness and breadth of vision which alone can bring about a real solution? Our nation is wrestling with this problem in its manifold aspects. But although Judaism first voiced for the world the unalterable principle of social justice, American Israel does not yet pray for it. Clearly it has not yet entered deeply into our religious consciousness. We are still so engrossed with praying the prayers which past ages have formulated to express their convictions and needs, with affirming in heavy, learned prayers theological principles and beliefs, that we find no time nor place to pray simply and directly for the specific needs of the present. We seem to have forgotten almost completely that help from God can come to us today as it came to our fathers in the past. And we fail to implore guidance and strength and wisdom to solve the problems of the present from God, who is as much the God of the present as of the past. We pray in the past as Jews; we work and aspire in the present as Americans. But we have not yet learned to properly correlate Judaism and Americanism, that we might live more fully as both Jews and

Americans, or rather as American Jews. To this extent our Judaism is something imported and antiquated, German, or possibly largely pre-German, but not yet completely American. And it is therefore something relegated to a temple for at the most two hours each week, and not yet a potent, constant influence in our lives as American citizens seven days in the week.

And just as these earlier German immigrants brought to this country imported, liberal German Reform Judaism, so have the more recent Russian immigrants brought imported, orthodox Russian Judaism, orthodox not merely because of restrictions imposed by the Russian government, but orthodox and Russian because it sprang from out a Russian, unprogressive environment. Influenced partly by orthodox, Greek Catholic spirit and example, these immigrants lay emphasis upon the ritualistic and legalistic side of Judaism. At the same time they possess an appreciable knowledge of Jewish literature and reverence for Jewish tradition.

Unlike their German predecessors, they have not scattered throughout the country. They have settled for the most part in large groups in our great industrial centers, where they are able to continue their daily life and religious practice in much the same manner as in Europe. Yiddish continues to be the vernacular among the immigrants themselves, and among their children to an extent. A flourishing Yiddish press and Yiddish literature are their sources of information and education. One of their chief aims as a collective group is the preservation of orthodox life and practice. Relying upon their somewhat larger Jewish knowledge and their closer conformity to rabbinical law, they denounce American Reform Judaism, with rather intolerant zeal, as the product of ignorance of Jewish life and lore, and of the to them seeming attempt on the part of Reform Jews to shed Judaism gradually and gracefully and pass over by easy stages to the religion of the majority.

But the truth has come home even to many of them that orthodox Judaism can not flourish, nor even live long, in America. What could satisfy their religious needs and impulses in Russia can not endure in America with its altogether different life and standards. The older immigrants have managed to live

their orthodox Judaism with comparatively little modification, but only at the tremendous cost of remaining forever strangers and aliens. The younger immigrants, and particularly the first American-born generation, educated in American schools and imbued with American ideals, refuse to pay this price. A very few, an almost insignificant percentage, have found their way into Reform synagogs. A not inconsiderable portion, misled by a peculiar, foreign habit of mind and study, have passed over to agnosticism and atheism. Many, victims of unbalanced cultural conditions, have made socialism a substitute for religion, as if the two concepts were mutually antagonistic and exclusive.

The vast majority, however, are merely drifting. Outwardly they profess themselves orthodox Jews and affiliate nominally with orthodox synagogs. But they visit the synagog and participate in Jewish rites only seldom, and Judaism has become for them altogether formal and lifeless.

A few seek to work out their salvation by accepting certain minor reforms, which American environment and education compel. With them a small, conservative element of early Jewish settlers have made common cause. Together they are attempting to evolve what is variously called reasonable orthodoxy or conservative reform. The movement is foredoomed to failure by its very principles. For it is founded upon expediency and compulsory reform of externals, and not upon thorough-going, systematic reform, based upon careful diagnosis and corrective prescription. Not unnaturally this conservative reform, reasonable orthodox movement is looked at askance by both strictly orthodox and strictly reform Jews. Assuredly the future of Judaism in America lies not with it.

Obviously there has been practically no contact and union of forces between the reform and orthodox groups. They stand almost as far apart today as thirty years ago. Why? It is largely because Reform Judaism has made no systematic effort to join forces with Orthodox Judaism and to make the adherents of the latter understand and accept the reform point of view. We gave charity generously. We established settlements, foster homes, orphan asylums and industrial schools. We organized classes and clubs, in which, we boasted, we were Americanizing our

immigrant brethren. But all these activities dealt only with transitory conditions. Until we have complete union and co-operation for religious ends, there can be no true American Judaism. In the light of this self-evident truth our lack of constructive vision was inexcusable.

We are a people with a mission, we claim, yet we know not how to do missionary work among our fellow-Jews. We might well take a leaf from the home missions book of our Christian neighbors. We should make propaganda for our interpretation of Judaism, not at all merely in order that all Jews in America may think like ourselves, but because of our devotion to both Judaism and America; because of our supreme conviction that Judaism can live in America only by adapting itself to American life and ideals; because of our other supreme conviction that we can discharge our full obligation as American citizens of the Jewish faith only by cherishing and developing Judaism to the utmost, and making it contribute to American culture; and finally, because of the imperative need of evolving a unified American Jewish point of view as the basis for the future evolution of American Judaism. And if, as early comers to America, and therefore presumably more largely imbued with its spirit, we owed to our immigrant brethren any duty at all, a vital part thereof was the duty of Americanization. And Americanization means more than teaching a foreigner the English language, so that he might more easily earn bread and butter. An essential element of the Americanization of our immigrant brethren is the Americanization of their Judaism, to make it accord more largely with the American life which they must live. In this we have failed completely.

Failed! We seem never to have even dreamed that we had such a duty. For this work can be done only by education and active propaganda. And hardly ever has it occurred to anyone to present the principles and aims of Reform Judaism or to discuss the problem of Americanization of Judaism in a form and language which our immigrant brethren can understand. Some years ago it was suggested that this Conference translate its tracts into Yiddish and give them wide publicity among our

orthodox brethren. It came to naught, chiefly because its full significance and necessity were not appreciated.

But, although much precious time has been lost, systematic, educational propaganda is indispensable, if union of the discordant elements of American Judaism is to be achieved, and if Judaism is to live and grow in America. If we believe that the form of Judaism which we have evolved is in greatest harmony with American life and spirit, and that American Judaism of the future must develop largely out of it, it is our duty to make propaganda for this form and principle of Judaism and to win over all elements in American Jewry to realization of this common need and to cooperation with us for this common good.

Another condition has materially increased the disharmony and group antagonism existing in American Jewry. German Jewish immigrants came to America as fully recognized German citizens, Jewish only in religion. They came with no idea other than to become complete Americans and American citizens, and to maintain Judaism only as a religion.

Russian Jewish immigrants came from out an altogether different political environment. The Russian and Roumanian governments were organized according to the national group system. Jews in those countries constituted a distinct national group, a small political unit within a larger unit. What few rights and privileges they possessed, they held as members of the Jewish national group.

Transplanted to America, many found it difficult to comprehend fully the American national ideal of a people one and indivisible, not split up into separate national or racial groups, but laying emphasis upon the facts and forces which unite and bind a people into one nation, with one common history and culture. And when they felt their orthodox Judaism slipping from them, they sought a Jewish substitute for it, through which they could give expression to their Jewish consciousness. Having no adequate knowledge of American Reform Judaism, and no sympathy with nor faith in it, they sought elsewhere, and found, or believed that they found, what they sought in Zionism.

This was perfectly natural. Zionism's fundamental premise of the distinctness of the Jewish people and its identity with

the Jewish nation accorded fully with their political experience and education in their European home lands. It fitted into their conception of nationality and government much better than did Americanism, with its ideal of one indivisible American nation. Zionism, as a political and nationalistic theory, was a purely imported, European product. Among the immigrant Russian Jews and their children it has found the vast majority of its adherents in America.

There is no need to discuss here the merits or demerits of Zionism. There has been altogether too much of that, and it has led only to recrimination and dissension. But Zionism must be treated objectively as a historical fact and Zionists as a distinct group in American Jewry today.

There is actually for us only one question fundamentally at issue between Zionism and anti-Zionism. It is not the question of the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, and the evolution there of a specifically Jewish culture, and the influence of such a Jewish state and culture upon the fortunes of Jews and Judaism in other lands. This is, of course, the fundamental thesis and program of Zionism. But, except for the fact that it is the bone of contention between Zionists and anti-Zionists, and has contributed greatly to the division of American Israel into two camps, it has little direct bearing upon our main problem.

For us the vital question in the Zionist controversy is whether Judaism in America possesses the power of self-invigoration and self-perpetuation, or must eventually die unless it be given a prompt and oft-repeated hypodermic injection of national Palestinian Jewish culture and devotion. Many Zionists affirm that Judaism in America can not live, is doomed, without the constant stimulus of a Jewish state and a Jewish culture in Palestine; and even then its existence must be precarious and altogether dependent. This is certainly a logical deduction from the basic premises of Zionism.

One other conclusion also follows necessarily from these premises and this argument. If Judaism in America, just to continue to exist, requires the stimulus of a Jewish state in Palestine and a Jewish national culture, then we Jews in America, if we wish to remain Jews at all, must hold ourselves aloof and

distinct, not only religiously, but also nationally and culturally, from the American nation and people. Contrary to what we have been taught to believe is the fundamental principle of Americanism, viz., American national unity and solidarity, we Jews in America must uphold the eastern European principle of national group organization and national group rights and cultures, and must refuse to incorporate ourselves completely with the American nation and to assume our responsibility and contribute our share to the evolution of American national culture.

If this be what is meant by assimilation, then we are assimilationists, and we accept the term as a title of honor and American loyalty. For we subscribe unconditionally to the principle of Americanism, which, while it guarantees full freedom of religious belief and worship, none the less demands that all American citizens, regardless of racial and national origin and previous culture, integrate themselves completely into the American nation and culture, and that even religion contribute of its spiritual treasures to the rich content of this American culture. In this respect we believe that Zionism is altogether foreign to and incompatible with Americanism and American Judaism.

But more than this, we believe with perfect faith that Judaism can live and perpetuate itself and expand here in America, entirely without the need of foreign stimuli, whether from Palestine or elsewhere. True, Russian Orthodox Judaism can not live here; and equally true, an unmodified German Reform Judaism can not live here. But neither of these is American Judaism. And in American Judaism and its power of life and growth in America we have complete faith.

And this question of faith or lack of faith in American Judaism is the real, vital issue between American Zionism and anti-Zionism. It matters little if one labors for a Jewish home land in Palestine, even as an independent Jewish state, so long as it does not affect his personal attitude toward Americanism, and his perfect faith in the future of America as a unified nation, and in American Judaism as a living religion in America. Provided he have this faith and labor for its consummation regardless of Palestinian interests and activities, he is an American and an American Jew in heart and soul.

And we believe that most American Zionists, so-called, are just this kind of Zionist, that their Americanism is in every respect unqualified and beyond question, and that their advocacy of a Jewish state or commonwealth in Palesine is entirely altruistic. What though there be a certain lack of consistency and logic in their combination of Americanism with Zionism. Very few men and women are perfectly consistent and logical in all their beliefs and works. Just this inconsistency and illogicality, we imagine, distinguish the American Zionist from the European Zionist. The former is primarily an American nationalist, a citizen of America; the latter is primarily a Zionist nationalist, a citizen of a Jewish state still to be formed.

But since the American Zionist is primarily an American, and only secondarily and altruistically a Zionist, he must have faith, not only in America and Americanism, but also in Judaism in America, in its power and in its historical compulsion to live and grow as American Judaism. As a Jew whose life in every way centers in America, he must integrate himself completely, as he does, with the spirit and works of Americanism.

If a Jewish state be ever established in Palestine, and a Jewish culture evolve there, and they be able to contribute anything, much or little, to the upbuilding and enrichment of American Judaism, as Zionists claim, surely we will not object. Undoubtedly American Judaism will receive certain stimuli from the Judaisms of other lands, with which, needless to say, it is, and will ever remain united by the strong bonds of history and religion. It will likewise undoubtedly contribute equally of its own knowledge and strength to those foreign Judaisms, even the Judaism of Palestine.

But upon all American Jews, Zionists and non-Zionists alike, whose home and whose faith are here in America, there rests the sacred obligation to compose all differences in the face of their common duty and their common goal, and to labor together to bring about union in American Israel, and to consciously, wisely, systematically build up a living, virile American Judaism, which shall root itself deep in American soil, shall grow and thrive in American atmosphere, and shall offer that spiritual pabulum which alone can satisfy the religious hunger of American Jewry.

The period of foreign groups and elements in American Jewry is passing. We have almost ceased to be Portuguese and German and Polish and Russian and Roumanian Jews. Those differences exist today only as rapidly disappearing survivals of an outgrown life. Tomorrow they will be gone entirely, and we will have become completely in fact, what we are already in spirit, one, united American Israel. Likewise the period of dominant foreign ideas and principles in the Judaism of America is passing. German Reform Judaism, Russian Orthodox Judaism, European Zionism, the day of all these in America is almost done. The new day of one, united, common American Judaism is dawning for us and our children.

What will this American Judaism be? We can only determine the tendencies of today, and from this attempt to forecast the future. The general principle is assured; American Judaism will be both Jewish and American, a positive fusion of the principles of Judaism and Americanism applied to the daily existence of the Jews of America. We know quite well what Judaism is. But Americanism is as yet only in the making. We are still largely a nation of immigrants. And as a nation we have acted with inexcusable shortsightedness. Congress has dealt with the problem of immigration superficially, by measures of restriction and limitation. Only today are we beginning to realize as a nation that there is another, far more logical and constructive solution of the problem, viz.: Americanization of the immigrant through education under government supervision.

This new movement is significant. Americanism has had a virtual rebirth. As a nation we have become impatient, and rightly so, not so much of things foreign in origin, but rather of the undue persistence of their foreign character in an American environment. We have, as a nation, resolved, unconsciously perhaps, but none the less positively, to cease our *laissez-faire* policy, and to begin to evolve a distinct, unified American culture. We welcome all foreigners who come in sincerity of heart and loyalty of purpose. But we refuse to allow them to continue too long as semi-foreigners. And even more, we refuse to allow a hyphenated Americanism to exist in this country. We must realize our national ideal of an American people and an American

nation, one and indivisible, not only not divided into North and South and free and slave states, but also not divided into distinct, competitive groups, whether national, racial, economic, social or religious in origin and character.

Our soldiers sound the new note more positively, perhaps, than any other element of our population. A surprisingly large percentage, we are told, entered the army, either as foreigners or semi-foreigners in language and culture. But there was in them a latent germ of the American spirit; and that germ, warmed by the glow of sacrifice, wetted by the blood of life, fostered by deepening patriotism and broadening understanding, has flowered forth into an aspiring, creating Americanism.

These returning soldiers sound the note of this larger Americanism in all its particular phases and elements. And not the least important of these is religion. Religion can no longer be something distinct from and independent of Americanism, but must become an integral part thereof. Not that we will evolve anything at all suggesting union of church and state. Such union is abhorrent to Americanism. But we will realize that life without religion is incomplete and uncertain, minus one important source of strength and guidance, like a wheel lacking one spoke. We will understand that Americanism touches upon the whole of life. And while it will never dictate religious creed or affiliation, it will assuredly determine the general attitude of all Americans toward religion, and will insist that all religious belief and practice in America be in perfect harmony with, and contribute to, the development of American culture and ideals.

We know now that the first, deep, religious fervor of our soldiers was somewhat exaggerated. As they became habituated to their service and to the thought of sacrifice, suffering and possible death, many ceased to rely upon religion for comfort and support to the same extent as at first. And yet, our religious workers tell us, something, even much, of this first faith remains, and our soldiers are returning with a more reverent and positive religious spirit. And their loved ones here at home, whose suffering was chiefly vicarious, also learned to trust and to pray as never before. In consequence we have become a nation with a larger religious consciousness and faith. Upon

these we rest our hopes and plans for positive growth of religion in America and its integration with the American spirit.

But this new religious spirit in America has declared itself unmistakably. It is impatient of the formalities of creed, theology and ritual. In truly American manner it demands that we get down to fundamentals. It concerns itself but little with questions of dogma and ritual. But it asks one question, and it asks it insistently, "How shall we come close to God and pour out our hearts before Him, and find in this close and loving communion the inspiration, the strength, the wisdom, the guidance to rise above our trials, to grow strong and courageous, in order that we may live righteously, and may contribute according to our strength to the knowledge, the happiness and the blessing of our nation and of mankind?" This is the new religious spirit of Americanism. And only those creeds and churches which can breathe this spirit, which can reform and restate their essential principles in accordance therewith, can live and flourish in America. For the rest there must come sure and speedy end.

And not only does Americanism insist upon these fundamentals of individual worship, but it insists equally upon the fundamentals of collective worship and belief. It emphasizes the universal fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man and the spiritual, as well as the political, unity of the American people. And it demands that within its national limits, the American people as a whole live in accordance with these principles, that they emphasize, not minor credal and ritual differences, which separate and antagonize, but the fundamentals of faith and life, which all religions hold in common, and which must unite men in worship of their common God and Father. Religion, our nation demands, must be a positive force in the evolution of the one, united American people and of American spirit and culture.

To all of this Judaism gives unqualified approval. Even though it has evolved a complex ritual and an elaborate theology, it has never lost sight of the fundamentals of religious belief and practice. The knowledge of the common fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man has long been its cherished possession. Its prophets were the first to catch the vision of the golden age, when "swords will be beaten into plowshares and spears into

pruning-hooks", and when all men will unite to walk in the law of the Lord. From Israel this vision has descended to America; and our nation has taken the lead in the present endeavor to make of this vision of Israel a living, world-wide reality. America has drunk deep of the life-giving wells of Israel's law and lore, and there is an indissoluble bond of union and sympathy and common aspiration between Judaism and Americanism.

But in this new period of positive religion in America, this spirit of sympathy and union must grow and deepen. Judaism in America, like all religions, must become more positively and constructively American, while America becomes correspondingly more deeply religious. Judaism must lay increased stress upon the practice and development of the fundamentals of religion. Theology and ritual must be relegated to their proper places as accessories, but not as the whole of Judaism. Judaism in America must evolve along the lines of simple, positive living, and must be a strengthening and creative force in the daily lives of all its adherents.

Yet it must remain Judaism. It must not lose itself and its distinctive message in the glittering generalities of mere ethics and abstract moralizing. It must never sever direct connection with its historic past, which lends direction, character and impulse to its present evolution. Nor must it forget that, even though theology and ritual are but accessories of religion, they are indispensable accessories. They are the language and philosophy of religion. Through them we give expression to our religious thoughts, define and guide our religious emotions and aspirations, and correlate our individual existences with God's plan and purpose of life. A vital and practical problem is that of preserving the proper, invigorating balance between theology and ritual on the one hand and simple faith and moral life on the other.

Just here is the task and privilege of the Jewish scholar and rabbi in America, to increase our knowledge of Judaism, to enlarge and deepen its spiritual content, and to guide its development and practical application, so that it may remain unconditionally Judaism, even while it identifies itself with and contributes to the growth of Americanism, and so that its adherents

may remain conscious, loyal, zealous Jews even while they are conscious, loyal, zealous Americans. Such must the American Judaism of the future be.

This American Judaism will evolve out of no one single group or movement. Every group and every tendency in American Israel will undoubtedly contribute something to its upbuilding. Reform Judaism will probably contribute more than any other movement, since it is in fullest accord with Americanism. But it does not follow that American Judaism of tomorrow must flow directly and solely out of, and be the mere continuation of Reform Judaism of today.

If America represents a large melting-pot, into which various races and nationalities are cast to come forth eventually as one American nation, Jewry in America represents a smaller melting-pot, into which are cast Jews and Judaisms from various lands, with varying modes of Jewish life and worship and interpretations of Judaism, there to be thoroughly mingled and welded together until at last one united American Jewry and one united American Judaism will evolve. In this process all American Jews must meet upon the common ground of Jewish knowledge and devotion and American responsibility and patriotism, and discuss, exchange and test their beliefs, practices and ideals in tolerant, receptive manner. In this way alone can American Judaism be built up. Present tolerance among and eventual union of the present groups and movements of American Israel, and open-mindedness and constructive vision are its first, indispensable requisites.

But when American Judaism shall have fairly begun to evolve, what then? A very practical issue confronts us. Our present synagogs will not be torn down that new synagogs, devoted to the new American Judaism, may be erected in their stead. Nor will our present congregations and congregational system make way altogether for new congregations and a new system. Whatever Reform Judaism may contribute to its spiritual content and ritual practice, the actual physical organization of the new American Judaism must be largely upon the basis of our established congregational system. Into our present congregations eventual American Jews will seek admission. And they will come,

not hesitatingly, as poor strangers, craving a welcome of any kind, just so they be allowed to enter, but they will ask admittance as honored guests summoned to congregational fellowship. They will demand admission upon terms of absolute equality of devotion, responsibility and privilege, as American Jews like ourselves. How shall we receive them?

There can be only one answer. Our congregations must be democratized sincerely and thoroughly. A spirit of Jewish fellowship must prevail. Absolute equality must be the right of all, and the responsibility and burden of administration must be borne equally by all in proportion to ability and means.

We have already endorsed the general principle of democracy in American Judaism in a way. We gave somewhat restricted and cautious expression to it in the model constitution for congregations. The principles of small, minimum, or even voluntary, dues and unassigned seating are finding constantly increasing support. More and more we are recognizing that congregations owe a duty to all the house of Israel, even to those not enrolled in their membership. The principle of democracy within the congregation and synagog is winning rapidly, and its future is assured. None the less, only a beginning has thus far been made. The complete democratization of the synagog is the second great need and problem of American Judaism.

Another problem of prime importance is that of efficient organization. Efficiency and organization are both American bywords. The churches of America are organized in a manner which daily becomes more efficient. The war has demonstrated the value of efficiency and preparedness in church organization. To us Jews it has taught this lesson at a particularly sad cost. For although it found us rich in organizations, it found us poor in organization. Other religions were prepared to discharge their obligation to their young men in the nation's service at almost a moment's notice. But the war was over before we Jews had barely begun to care for the spiritual welfare of our boys, even in a manner woefully inadequate and ineffective.

The time for recrimination has passed. It matters not who was to blame for this fiasco. Unquestionably the real fault was our over-organization and the attendant dissension and disorgani-

zation. We have countless organizations and institutions, many engaged chiefly in petty rivalries and squabbling for publicity and glory rather than in useful work. This is due in part to the present non-homogeneous composition of American Jewry, which has called into being many organizations duplicative and competitive in character.

With the evolution of a united American Jewry undoubtedly much of this over-organization and duplication will cease automatically. But efficient and constructive organization will hardly evolve of itself. The problem must be dealt with directly and boldly. The blatant, self-seeking demagog must give way to the efficient consecrated leader, and competition and hostility between organizations must yield to cooperation and fusion.

Above all, the shameful spectacle of congregational rivalry must cease. It is a veritable חלול השם, absolutely unjustifiable and inexcusable. We must awaken to the pregnant truth, that while the congregation is the unit of Jewish life, the community, and not the congregation, should be the unit of local organization; or rather, the term congregation should be coterminous with the entire community, and not merely with a synagog and its membership. Within this large congregation there should be, when once we shall have evolved our common American Judaism, just so many synagogs and just so many religious schools and just so many Jewish institutions of any sort, as may be actually needed, each situated where it can discharge its obligations to its particular neighborhood most efficiently. With congregational organization such as this, there will be no opportunity for any Jew to fall into the present congregational interstices, and to escape integration with the rest of the house of Israel in the congregation of Israel. Proper, efficient, constructive organization within local Jewish communities and in the large community of American Israel is one of the most difficult and yet most urgent problems in the evolution of American Judaism.

There is likewise the problem of institutionalizing the synagog. It is a positive movement indeed, if we affirm, as we do, that the synagog is the center from which all specifically Jewish life must radiate and about which it must revolve. But in

actual practice this problem is most difficult. Along what lines shall we guide this movement that it may make for a deepening and broadening of Jewish consciousness and Jewish life?

There is the grave problem of the relations of Jew to non-Jew and of Judaism in America to other religions. There are innumerable problems which confront us, and which must be solved positively and constructively before American Judaism can evolve completely. But we may not discuss these now.

One problem, however, this Conference must face squarely and endeavor to answer wisely and sincerely. It is the problem of the rabbi in American Judaism. Manifestly an American Jewry and an American Judaism, such as we have visioned, will need rabbis, yes, and in far greater numbers than at present. Whence shall they come, and how shall they be trained? Certainly, if our main thesis be correct, and a true American Judaism evolve and perfect an organization such as we have outlined, we shall need likewise rabbis or spiritual leaders, however they may be called, with varied and specialized training.

We shall need community leaders, men equipped with authoritative knowledge of Judaism, with large, constructive vision and organizing and executive ability, to coordinate and guide the complex life of the community. We shall need men preeminently preachers and popular expounders of Judaism, who will conduct the actual worship within the synagogs. We shall need pastoral and social workers, possibly to an even greater degree than now. We shall need teachers of Judaism in all its phases for all classes of our people. We shall need Jewish scholars, who will enrich our knowledge and interpretation of Judaism.

In the smallest communities the rabbi will necessarily combine in his one person as many of these varied activities as possible, just as under our present system. But as communities grow in size and complexity, these activities must be increasingly distributed among specialists. In this manner the work of the large congregation will be most efficiently administered. It will relieve the rabbi of the present, depressing compulsion, inimical to both efficiency and sincerity, of becoming, or far more frequently of passing as the final authority upon all matters, past, present and future, spiritual and material, religious and secular,

Jewish and non-Jewish. The rabbi can then be himself, and being himself can work quietly and constructively in his chosen field. Possibly just here is our greatest need, the need of rabbis of deep spirituality and lofty idealism, rabbis who are above everything petty and ignoble, whose lives are an open book which all may read, whose deeds and service are an example and an inspiration, and whose perfect, living faith in God, in Judaism and in man must awaken an answering faith in the hearts and lives of all. In the hands of such rabbis the future of American Judaism is assured.

Naturally all these specialized rabbinical activities will have to rest upon the basis of authoritative Jewish knowledge, indispensable to all Jewish workers alike. Only after this education in the fundamentals of Judaism has been imparted and the requisite basic Jewish knowledge has been gained, can the specialized training begin. Our seminaries must attract worthy young men in sufficient numbers, and must prepare them thoroughly for their varying careers as Jewish workers. At the same time these institutions must serve as centers of Jewish knowledge and Jewish science. For unless American Judaism can contribute, through the scholars which it may raise up, to the increased knowledge of Judaism and the resulting enrichment of its spiritual content and religious values, it has no creative power and can have no future other than stagnation and death. Sincere, consecrated, efficient rabbis, creative Jewish scholars and all the complex apparatus of Jewish scholarship, ministration and spiritual leadership are absolutely essential, are, perhaps, the final and supreme requisite for a future of life and growth for American Judaism.

And that it has such a future we, spiritual children of Dr. Wise, founder of this Conference, by our presence here upon this historic occasion, solemnly affirm. A program for American Judaism, presented in all possible detail and with a solution for every problem that can be dimly foreseen, is beyond the limits of a simple paper. The sage advice of Rabbi Tarphon is reassuring, לא עליך המלאכה לגמר ולא אתה בן חורין לבטל ממנה Though we might not complete the task with this one paper, we were not at liberty to desist therefrom. It suffices to have affirmed the su-

preme conviction that Judaism in America possesses the inherent vitality to perpetuate itself and to work out its own future of growth and expansion; and with this to have affirmed the fundamental principle, that Judaism in America, to live and grow, must become true American Judaism, founded upon the immovable rock of Jewish truth and Jewish historic continuity, yet adapted completely to American national standards and ideals and the daily life which we, as loyal American citizens in an American environment must live; and finally, to have affirmed the principle that this American Judaism can be evolved only through union and cooperation, upon absolutely democratic principles, of all the various, at present dissentient elements of American Israel. This is our main thesis. The additional problems, upon which we have ventured to touch, are mere incidents of this large program.

But this is no new program. It is in every essential detail the program and the vision which Isaac M. Wise proclaimed almost three quarters of a century ago, and for which he labored faithfully through all his long, constructive and beneficent life. And though he be not here in the flesh today, his spirit still lives with us, and we are all, whether or not we knew him personally and sat at his feet, his spiritual disciples. Upon all of us his mantle has fallen. The task is ours of carrying on the work which he, our master, began. What we may achieve will be his achievement; what we may create will be his creation; what glory we may win will be his glory, his fame, his monument. And as we hallow his memory today, we consecrate ourselves anew to his cause, American Judaism.

DISCUSSION

Rabbi Franklin—I feel that it has been particularly fortunate for this Conference that on this day that is set aside to honor the greatest constructive genius in American Israel, a paper such as this by Dr. Morgenstern should have found a place in our program. Whether or not we agree with all that Dr. Morgenstern has said to us; whether or not we believe that the program which he has outlined is a sufficient one to guarantee the future

of Israel in America, we must, I believe, be heartened by the thought that at last, after all these years of theorizing, one has come to us with an earnest, honest, well-studied attempt at a constructive program which promises much for the future of our faith.

I know that it is not needed that I should commend the paper which has just been read. All of us have been uplifted and stimulated by it and we have been especially gratified by the fact that here at last, we have been given something tangible. I know, therefore, that you will not regard me as a carping critic if, in commenting on the paper, I say that not in all things that have been stated by my friend, do I agree; nor yet do I believe that he has presented an altogether adequate and complete program for the future. To be sure, that should hardly be expected, because a program that is to do for all time to come can not be formulated in a day nor stated in a single paper.

I believe that while it was not the purpose of the writer to do so, he has unconsciously appealed to the prejudices of some in his emphasis upon his conviction that what is called "American Reform" is in fact "German Reform". Historically, of course, we recognize the fact that American Reform had its beginnings in Germany; but none the less, we must agree as was told us last night in that masterly address of Dr. Berkowitz, that American Reform is a new development—something essentially and vitally American, and no longer German in spirit. At most, it is German in form. In spirit, it has become American.

Again, the writer of the paper has drawn a sharp line of distinction between the German character of Reform Judaism and what he conceives to be the Russian character of modern Zionism. Now, there may be some justification—maybe even a great deal of justification for the distinction he draws. But actually, if Reform Judaism is German and if modern Zionism is Russian, then it is a psychological influence that is working upon the two to make them so.

Let me explain. Reform is German in spirit only to the extent that it feels a tremendous sense of its own power. I realize what you are going to say. You are going to say that Germany was conscious of its own power and it fell. It was the

megalomania of Germany that wrought its ruin. But in Reform Judaism, that consciousness of power has been rooted, not in the might of numbers nor of brute force, but rather in its great spiritual mission. Reform Judaism feels itself strong because it stands consecrated to defend the cause of righteousness and truth and the knowledge of the living God. In other words, Reform Judaism is vital and powerful today because it is no longer—in its own mind—a religion of failure and martyrdom, but on the contrary, a masterful faith whose message the world is ready and eager to hear. It is conscious of having a vital mission in a living world.

Now, what about Zionism? On the contrary, Zionism is born of a sense of martyrdom and of failure. Had the Jew in our day not suffered persecution and oppression, had he not been the victim of pogroms and outrages in every form, who can believe that Zionism would ever have become the great issue that it is? Persecution is the mother of Zionism; martyrdom its father.

And yet, despite these basic differences, both Reform Judaism and Zionism are really facing the same problem. Can Judaism in its new environment maintain itself? That is the question. Both are asking that, and Reform Judaism answers "Yes". Yes, there is in us the power of survival; we know that we are going to prevail. Zionism answers "No". Judaism can not maintain itself in a new environment where numerically it is a minority. Therefore, it is that the Jew must isolate himself from the world and work out his genius in an environment where he shall be numerically in the majority. "Isolation is defeat or death. We must live among men and leave the mark of our active and consecrated participation upon their lives".

But, you will say, does this not mean that the Reform Jew, the liberal Jew, who holds that he must live among men, is headed straight toward what you call assimilation? Well, perhaps yes, as Dr. Morgenstern says; but it depends, as he said, upon your definition of assimilation. If by assimilation you mean a *rapprochement* between Judaism and the majority faith; if by assimilation you mean a better understanding; a more harmonious working together between all the elements of our

great communities; if by assimilation you mean that we shall enter whole-heartedly into the spirit of our American life; if by assimilation you mean that America shall give to us and we shall give to it, and thus enrich both the content of American and Jewish life—then I for one am not afraid of what is called assimilation.

But what is the actual process that is taking place? Christian and Jew are getting together; we are growing to understand one another and we are beginning to cooperate. But are we by that token Christianizing our Judaism? No. The process is the reverse. We are "Judaizing" the Christianity of today, if you please, for the modern movement of the religious world, as has been proved time and time again by the events of the war, means simply that those ideals for which the Jew through all the ages has been struggling, have become the common property of all humanity—and that instead of fighting single-handedly for Justice and Truth and Brotherhood, as he has been compelled to do through the ages, the Jew will henceforth call to his standard to fight for his ideals, the brain and the brawn of the Christian world. It is the token of Judaism triumphant.

What has Judaism given up in these days? In its devotion to America, it has given up many of those oriental forms which no longer fit the life of the occident. It has given up things no longer vital. It has given up little, if anything, necessary to the preservation of the Jewish spirit. On the other hand, what has Christianity given up in this progress toward a better understanding? If you had been present, as I was a few weeks ago at a meeting of the American Religious Association, you would have heard this said time and time again by the leading teachers of Christian teachers—that Christianity in its adaptation to new conditions is giving up these three things; it is giving up the belief in the deity of Jesus; it is giving up the belief in the vicarious atonement; it is giving up the belief in the immaculate birth. And I maintain, that with these three things given up, Christianity is no longer Christianity. Judaism remains Judaism even though we have put aside some of the forms to which our fathers attached a certain sacredness; but it is not true on the other side. What is Christianity taking from

us? It is taking our ethics, our ideals, and it is trying to live up to the standards of justice, of brotherhood, of truth and of peace that we have always preached. The world is becoming Jewish in thought. And if you call that assimilation, then in God's name, let there be more assimilation. Judaism, in other words, is becoming the triumphant religion of the present day. We must cease our preaching of Judaism as a martyr faith. We must preach it as the faith that has gained the mastery. But to do this effectively, we must build up a constructive program.

Of course, you must have leadership in the pulpit; not merely the leadership of intellect, though that is necessary, but also the leadership that shall touch the hearts and souls of men. In our pulpits, we have too long deified mere scholarship. Now, we want the spiritual touch for which the souls of men are craving. Life must be touched by the pulpit message, but most of all, it must be inspired and exalted by the example of the man who proclaimed it.

And what is more, you must have a lay leadership that counts. Let us face the truth. The lay leadership in its organized form has not been what it should have been. It has been pointed out by the writer of the paper that we have many organizations and all too little organization. We have lacked real leadership among the people; our organizations have not grasped the truly vital things; they have not told the world in a way that the world could not fail to understand, what the Jew and Judaism stand for.

I am not attempting now to attach blame to men or to specific organizations. But work that should have been done, especially in these crucial times, had remained undone. As a result, men do not know what the Jew is thinking and planning and hoping for today. Oh, yes, the world knows what one group in American Jewry stands for. And I want to say in this connection that I take off my hat to our Zionistic friends for their magnificent organization; for their splendid publicity bureau and for the means they have adopted for sending their thought out into the world so that, and I say this openly, newspaper men are telling us that there is no other news service in the world that compares to that of the Zionist organization. Aggressive

publicity as well as the romantic character of their movement has helped to make it popular.

Now, if we want American Judaism to become the Judaism of the future, it is time for us to popularize it in the same way. We can learn this at least from our Zionistic friends.

The character of synagogal organization has been referred to. For my own part—and you may be surprised to hear me say this—I believe the day of the institutional synagog in the larger communities, at least, is past. It is the business of the synagog to teach religion. I am coming more and more to believe that the synagog should give inspiration to the other organizations that have the machinery with which to do most effectively the so-called institutional work and that are better fitted to carry on activities that we sometimes mistake for the legitimate work of the synagog.

Of course, I want the synagog to be a social as well as a religious centre; I want it to be the gathering place of the people, but I insist that its essential task is to deepen the religious consciousness of the people. Failing in this, it fails altogether. Something has been said of synagogal prayer. The ritual of the synagog built upon tradition is bound to be more or less stilted. We need to make our prayer less mechanical—more emotional perhaps—and as Dr. Morgenstern has said, something that will bring people face to face with God.

What is it that sends so many of our Jews into Christian Science? The cause is twofold. Christian Science today is a monument to a twofold failure; first, to the failure of modern medicine; and second, to the failure of organized religion. Our friends go to the Christian Science Church largely because they want physical relief, but with it they often receive a certain spiritual stimulus which, unfortunately, the synagog does not always give them. Of course, the appeal is often ignorant and crass and crude. I remember a man in my community who had lost his wife and wanted me to officiate at the funeral. He said, "I have a great favor to ask of you—there is a certain prayer that I would like you to read. It is beautiful and my wife loved it". To make a long story short, he referred to the 91st Psalm, which he thought Mrs. Eddy had written. Gentlemen,

you laugh! But you ought to weep for that condition, because it is your failure and my failure that men and women reared in our synagogs and our religious schools should not know the 91st Psalm when they hear it.

And this leads to the fundamental factor in the constructive program which we must formulate. We need a new education both as it affects our religious schools and as it affects the teachings of the pulpit. In our religious schools, we have failed to make religion a near and living thing to the children. Our Bible stories have been to them as so many fairy tales that have not linked themselves up sufficiently closely to the living issues of a living world. Jewish history has not been made to our children a part of world history, but it has stood in their minds a thing aloof and apart. The characters of the Bible have not been living men and women with blood and bone and heart and soul. The Bible itself has not been a book like other books to which our children would normally turn for instruction and for inspiration. Our methods of presenting religious truths have been largely artificial, and worst of all, the men and the women who have been entrusted with the task of religious education have been hopelessly unprepared for their stupendous responsibility. As a result, our children have been growing up in ignorance of the part and place of their people's life in history and from ignorance, that pride out of which true enthusiasm and deep loyalty is likely to grow, can never develop.

As our young men and young women outgrow their Sabbath School period and enter our colleges, they seem to get even farther away from us. We have made a slight gain recently with the men and women in the universities and I would tell those of you who do not know that there has been no work undertaken in recent years that promises more for American Israel than the religious work that we have begun in our great university centres. We know this from men who having passed through the universities and having been there touched by the religious spirit, have become religious leaders in their various communities as a result of it. More and more of this work needs to be done and there is no committee of this Conference, I hold, upon which rests a greater responsibility or a higher duty or a larger opportunity

than upon the committee having charge of religious work in universities. While the men and women are getting their first taste of science and the arts, let them be made to know that religion, too, is a part of culture, without which no man can hold himself to be completely educated.

The teaching of the pulpit, I have already touched upon. It must be inspirational, instructional, consolatory. It must help men and women to meet sanely and bravely the deepest problems of their lives. It must give them an active appreciation of the good things that are theirs and help them to bear with resignation and without bitterness or loss of faith, the sorrows and the disappointments that in the normal course of events must come to them. In a word, our new program—eminently constructive in character—must deal less with the mere material phases of life; less with those things, the results of which can be card-cataloged and more and more with those things, the results of which are not always palpable and obvious because spiritual results are seldom so.

I am afraid my time is up. I have said some things inadequate, I know, to the subject under discussion, and yet I hope not utterly devoid of helpful suggestion. Let me but add this word: we must make our religion a personal matter to men and women; a matter that touches their souls, their hearts, and their spirits, and if we do that, there is some likelihood that we shall be able to construct a program for our faith which will somehow be in line with the thought of that master builder whose memory we honor today—Isaac M. Wise.

Rabbi Simon—The scholarly and lucid paper presented by Dr. Morgenstern outlines with admirable skill the prevalent conditions in American Israel, and foreshadows the lines of democratic development along which American Judaism should proceed. While in hearty agreement with the thesis and tenor of the essay, I desire to indicate the absolutely essential basis upon which in my judgment the religious edifice of tomorrow must be reared. The contribution of Isaac M. Wise to Reform Judaism lends the atmosphere and the justification to the constructive program contemplated.

I can find no better way of adding my thought to the discussion than by narrating the following interesting episode. A few days after the armistice was signed I was requested to go to a hamlet ten miles from Verdun to say *Kaddish*. Two of the boys proudly showed me their khaki-bound prayer-books. A third soldier directed me to his barracks and, holding in his hand a volume, said with much feeling, "My parents and I formerly lived in Cincinnati, where we were in regular attendance at the Plum Street Temple. The death of my father compelled us to move into Pennsylvania. When I was ready to leave America for overseas' service, mother said to me, 'Take this book with you. I hope that it will give you as much comfort as it has brought to me. I want you to take the spirit of Dr. Wise with you into France.' " The book was the old familiar *Minhag America.*

I do not know how many soldiers took the spirit of Isaac M. Wise with them into Europe, but I do know that there is scarcely a hamlet in America where the teachings of Dr. Wise have not penetrated. Thousands of our coreligionists in this country may be unconscious of the influence of his personality and teachings upon their religious thought and practice. It seems to me an unquestioned fact that there is more of his spirit alive today than when the whole of him was summed up in a physical frame of five foot eight. Our task is to understand the intense religiosity of that personality with its strong passion bordering on the mystical. It is the nature of strong faith to run off into conduct and express itself constructively. Creativeness was the very ingredient of his religious fervor. Dr. Schechter's illuminating essay on Lincoln as mystic leads me to hope that someone will present the mystic soul of Wise. His first valuable contribution to American Israel was his prayer-book, and one can enter into his prayerful experience with an intimate and warm confidence. Had he devoted himself to the writing of hymns he would have been a modern psalmist. His conception of the Torah had all the ecstatic joy of the ancient psalmist.

There may be a smile if, in this day of triumphant rationalism, I insist that there can be no true religious emotion without an element of mysticism in it. Nor am I disturbed by the cheap wit that tells us to spell it with an *i* rather than with a *y*.

There is a sane and healthy mysticism sweeping over humanity today. Some of it may have been born among the poppies of Flanders; some of it may be of the new enthusiasm for humanity expressing itself industrially and philanthropically, but no one with attuned ear can have failed to catch the deeper undertone of the human heart, as of Deep calling unto Deep. Mysticism is audaciously democratic. It says, "God and I understand each other. We are on the same level of spiritual appreciation. I can enter into His life and also appropriate Him according to my spiritual ability. I can speak to God face to face as with a friend." The comradeship, the partnership, the at-homeness with God must be the basis of our religious thought and life.

The democratization of our institutions is, after all, an external movement. It is the white heat of religious faith and fervor which gives it understanding and direction. Given this religious stirring of emotion, and Judaism will be compelled to be creative. Given this intensity of conviction in the all-pervading presence of God, and we will not need to worry as to the democratic spirit of American Jewish institutions. Given this standpoint, and Judaism, Orthodox or Reform, will not lose itself in Culture or in Americanism. The democratic spirit will dominate our thought and institutions, whether we will or no. We may be happy in the belief that the atmosphere of our free America is the most congenial soil for the finest flowering of the Jewish spirit, provided it is Jewish and provided it is spiritual.

We have not been keen enough on the feel and divine urge of communion with God. We know the prayer-book by heart. The preposition *by* reveals the proposition of its stereotype. We have not enough spontaneous prayer in our worship. We have none of it in the religious school. It would cause considerable ridicule were a rabbi asked to offer a prayer in a home where either sorrow or joy would find its normal expression in a petition to heaven. In other words, the conscious presence of God is a phrase rather than an experience. What we need more than prayers is prayerfulness. Our consciousness of God is decidedly aenemic. A rich infusion of blood, nourished by faith and tradition, by experience and contemplation will give virility to Jewish hope and life. A Jewish enthusiasm kindled by and for

religion is the creative possibility of the future. We owe it not only to the memory of Isaac M. Wise, but also and even more to the coming triumph of Judaism in America to consecrate ourselves to its realization.

For further discussion see p. 299.

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ADDRESS
DELIVERED AT THE GRAVE OF ISAAC M. WISE

William S. Friedman

We have turned aside from our daily tasks to behold the burning bush of American Israel's flaming enthusiasm and to ask ourselves why the fire is not spent. We hear the divine command, "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground".

Our noblest thoughts and finest emotions are enshrined on this holy ground. Before us rises the prophetic figure of our beloved master. The beautiful features of his benign countenance look down upon us and we feel the glow of his divine spirit.

He was our father, the patron saint of all of his boys and he lavished upon us the tenderest love and deepest devotion of the most indulgent of parents. His caressing smile was the sunshine of our early years, and the warmth of his heart was the light of our lives. He was our tower of strength when we were faint, the never failing fountain of salvation when our souls thirsted for encouragement. No father was kindlier or quicker to forgive the pranks of his children and none ever wielded over them a more blessed influence.

He was our friend who never wearied of granting favors, always guiding and guarding as under the shadow of his sheltering wings.

He was our teacher, patient with our shortcomings, imbuing our minds with the lore of the ages and with the loftiest philosophy.

He was our inspirer, the *Sh*^{e}*chinah* of whose presence en-

haloed the class-room, radiated from the pulpit and kindled in us responsive ardor.

No wonder that those who knew him best loved him most and that in communing with his spirit we are reconsecrated in loyalty to our faith.

I believe the first thing that impressed everyone who met Isaac M. Wise was the indefinable charm of his personality. His gentleness and geniality melted away the barriers of distance and distrust, while his never-ceasing sympathy attracted all who came within the great circle of his acquaintanceship. Rich and poor, learned and ignorant, all classes and conditions of men were heartily welcome to his company. With the biblical poet we might repeat, "Thy gentleness hath made him great."

It is therefore not surprising that suffering stirred to the depths his sensitive soul. Always quick to give, he easily awakened the compassion of others. When in the long ago, he pleaded for an asylum for Jewish orphans in the West, the people began at once to devise ways and means to establish it. Yet he was not a scientific philanthropist. He was an undiscriminating lover of mankind and eager to answer every appeal for help. The apparent fraud found in him an easy victim, while to the struggling student the doors of his tent flung wide open in hospitality. Like the patriarch of old, a precious jewel was suspended from his neck and the suffering who looked at him were healed.

Injustice and oppression aroused his burning indignation. When in the early fifties word came across the ocean of legal discrimination against the Jews of Switzerland, he vigorously protested and proceeded forthwith to call a convention of Jews of America for the purpose of appealing to the authorities at Washington and insisting upon equal rights for all American citizens. He wrote and spoke and agitated and denounced every effort on the part of fanatics to violate the constitutional provision separating church and state.

When the Jews of Russia were massacred and threatened with annihilation, he was among the first to call the country to wake and to urge the necessity for immediate action. His voice was without doubt the most powerful in America, and its ring-

ing tones in behalf of justice and righteousness and human brotherhood were silenced only by the hand of death.

His modesty was as characteristic as his gentleness. He never called attention to himself. He was lost in the great causes he espoused. There were strong men who honestly differed from him and endeavored to undermine the foundations he was laying. He regarded them with profound respect.

Small natures irritated by ill-disguised envy would belittle his stature and fill the air with poisonous calumny. Though often discouraged and despairing of the success of his work, his enemies could not disturb the evenness of his temper or embitter the sweetness of his soul. He had neither time nor inclination for personal abuse. The path of his life was upward and he could not be distracted from his onward aspirations. He was too big to nurse a grudge and eventually his unrelenting enemies became his dearest friends.

We call to mind his mental endowments. There may have been rabbis more learned in this or that specialty, but none whose intellect included a wider realm of knowledge. There seemed to be no subject with which he did not enjoy a familiar acquaintance. Preacher, professor, author, and editor, a vast library of literature testifies to his mental mastery.

His industry was tireless; none excelled him in the capacity for work. Nor did he content himself with being a thinker and a knower—he must needs be a doer. His thoughts must crystallize in deeds. His dreams must become a reality. He was the great practical idealist of Judaism in America.

His greatest mental gift was his genius for organization. When Isaac M. Wise came to this country more than three score years ago to escape the hampering fetters of European Jewries, he found that the same medieval superstitions and petty local customs which had germinated in the dark confines of oppression had been imported into this land of liberty and opportunity. Fanaticism and apostasy, ignorance and indifference were sapping the vitality of Judaism and eating out its life. He determined to clear away the decay and debris, to remove the ruins and rebuild the waste places. He uprooted only to plant anew; he tore down only to build up. Isaac M. Wise destroyed nothing

that was not already dead. He never cast a stone into a well which had quenched his thirst.

He substituted the living symbol for the obsolete ceremony; supplanted the oriental custom of excluding women from places and participation in the synagogal services by recognition of her rights and duties, conferred upon girls the privilege of confirmation with boys, delivered sermons in English, and his many reforms have been adopted even by large numbers of so-called orthodox congregations. He lengthened the cords of Israel's tent, but he also strengthened its stakes. Important as were his innovations, they were secondary to his life's purpose. It was the Jewish spirit that he revived that entitles him to a place among the Jewish immortals.

He knew that Judaism in America could not survive as a slavish imitation of the Judaism of autocratic Russia, of anti-Semitic Germany and Austria, or of the aristocratic ideas then prevailing in England, but must conform with the spirit of our own democratic institutions. Nor did he believe that the Jew should centre his hopes or waste his energy in pursuing the phantom of a national restoration. He made the foreign-born Jew in America feel that America was his permanent home, that he was not a stranger in a strange land, but a loyal and enthusiastic patriot of his adopted country. We are a religious people, our message is not national or political, but spiritual, was his insistent emphasis. Not in one place but in every place where Jews dwell, God's presence goes with them.

And so he awakened our appreciation for the eternal truths of Judaism, and impressed upon the Jew the fact that Judaism was his life and the length of his days. He made us feel that by faithfulness to our legacy we shall keep the company of our self-respect and win the esteem of our fellow men; by surrender we lose the most precious possession and earn the contempt of mankind. He was convinced that Judaism incarnated the only universal religious message and was destined to become the religion of the world. It is not too much to say that Isaac M. Wise saved Judaism for us and for future generations in America.

Like unto the prophet of old, the hand of the Lord was upon

led a consecrated life. In the midst of a world full of profanity and vulgarity, of coarse sensuality and drunkenness he displayed the virtues of chastity and modesty in his domestic and social sphere. His whole being was amidst all temptations and tempests of life anchored upon loyalty. The Law extending over all phases and functions of life disciplined him to render him sober and earnest, a veritable priest among the nations, however little recognized as such. Each Jew was a living protest against the dogmas of the Church which placed a man born of woman on God's throne, and defied human reason in order to save the soul. He was God's priest and prophet pointing to a better day, to God's Kingdom on earth.

With the downfall of the ghetto walls the relation of the Jew to the surrounding world changed, and no less so his whole aspect and mode of life. Emancipation made him a citizen in all the Western lands and placed before him the alternative of loyalty to all the laws and customs of his national past or of unreserved acceptance of the mandates of his newly acquired citizenship. It was a severe crisis he had to go through. Amidst the changed social conditions the Law upon which his life and his faith had so securely rested all these centuries, lost its hold upon him, however tenaciously the few still clung to it. To this outward cause there came the spirit of progress, of historical investigation and, above all, the general secular education with its appeal to reason and common sense, which undermined his traditional belief and his loyalty to a glorious past. He no longer could conscientiously pray and hope for the restitution of the sacrificial cult in the Temple at Jerusalem, nor for the restoration of the State to be fashioned again after the Mosaic Law. The whole of Judaism seemed to be swept away by the on-rushing tide of new ideas. But there amidst the despondency, which had seized upon the faithful, and the apostacy which spread to an alarming degree among the would-be enlightened, the Reform leaders stepped in to check the evil by translating Israel's past, its literature and history, in the light of the new spirit of historical investigation. With a deeper insight into the prophetical writings and the *Haggadic* or philosophical utterances of sages, they laid all the stress on the eternal verities,

the essentials of Judaism which remained the same amidst the ever-changing conditions.

This led them to bring the mission of Israel, thus long obscured and ignored amidst the legalistic view of medieval Judaism, into the foreground,[7] and to illumine the path, the life task and duty of the Jew in distinction to other religious sects. Nor must it be said, as we are so frequently told, that the doctrines of Judaism such as its pure monotheism, its concept of man as the son of God, its cosmic Unity which has no place for a Satanic power of evil, or its ethical principle of holiness which includes all of life and demands disinterestness in the doing of good and the shunning of evil, that all these are only for the theologian, the man in the pulpit to proclaim and defend, but not within the scope of the people at large. The average Jew still shows that he stands forth steadfast through the ages, as "the witness" to the Unity of God as the Father of all and to the one undivided humanity in the coming Kingdom of God. Moreover, liberal Christianity has fully come to the recognition of what the steadfast loyalty of the Jew to his sublime faith throughout the lands and the ages has done for the world. Never before was the outside world so eager and willing to listen to the view of progressive Judaism and to accept its doctrines as it is today. What Dr. Wise is reported to have said in his intimate circle to the effect that within fifty years Judaism's teachings will have become the common property of the American people seems to come more and more within the possibility of realization. Amidst the stimulating intermingling of ideas and exchange of thought in press, platform and pulpit, amidst the general enlightenment through education and the open forum of discussion which works for progress, liberty and democracy, the narrow ecclesiastical systems of belief and absolute forms of religious practice are discarded. Orthodoxy in all creeds is fast dwindling away and melting like the snow before the sun of spring. A wonderful transformation is taking place

[7] See Geiger *Wiss. Zeitsch.* 1868, 18 and Union Prayer Book II, 332 and compare to the following the suggestive chapter "The Mission of Israel" in Claude G. Montefiore's *"Outlines of Liberal Judaism,* p. 156-170.

in the various Churches. The cry for reconstruction is heard everywhere. People crave for Unity, for a faith which unites Protestant, Catholic and Jew, nay, even Mohammedan and Hindoo Theist in a God who is the Father of all and hears the prayers of all, for a God in whom all find refuge in trouble, comfort and strength in hours of trial and death, a God who is the deepest and holiest experience of the human soul. Is this not the God of the Bible, of patriarch and prophet, the God sought and yearned for by the first man and looked up to in aspiration and adoration by the last, the God of History, revealed to humanity by the religious genius of the Jew? But then we are confronted with the question: What are your credentials as a missionary people today? We certainly do not, nor should we, aim at converting the non-Jew. Ever since R. Joshua ben Chananiah uttered the beautiful words: "The righteous of all nations shall have a share in the world of eternal bliss", our maxim has been Conviction, not Conversion; Conduct, not Confession; Deed, not Creed. But who will deny that the Jew who suffered so much for the truth has still that passion and zeal for the truth which cannot remain indifferent to what others think and take as the great verities of life. His must still be that deep conviction which works like a wholesome contagion upon others. His incomparable history and literature must have endowed him with that religious experience and religious devotion which would for all time render him the trusted guardian and acknowledged defender of Israel's heritage. And if the average Jew today knows so little of the great treasures deposited in our matchless literature, and lacks all acquaintance with the names and deeds of our heroes and martyrs, our thinkers and poets, with our unique history of the ages, so as no longer to burn with the desire to make his God the banner of truth to rally all men around, the fault lies with our education, not with the mission idea of Judaism. As a matter of fact, the modern time requires modern methods of reading the Scripture and the entire religious literature of both Judaism and Christianity. Israel's monotheistic truth has not come ready-made from heaven, nor from the brain of law-giver and prophet to be accepted in blind belief. It is the product of a long process of growth, ever

ripening and expanding with the ages, the outgrowth of the religious genius of the Jew which was still to some extent working in the founders of the Church. Presented in this light of historic development as the ripest fruit of the Jewish spirit at each epoch, the Jewish truth cannot but arouse new love and zeal in the new generation to make all zealous defenders and champions of a religion whose spirit is perennial, as the God to which it testifies is eternal. And should this mission of the Jew for his only God cease at the very time when the world needs him most, and is actually waiting for him to present the truth of our seers and sages in its immaculate purity, cleansed from the alloys which depreciated its value in the eyes of all thinking people? Yet only in living and working *in* and *with* the world for his Only God can he achieve this mission.

And there is the other insistent cry of the age: Religion must be *life,* a life of *service,* not self-seeking solicitude for happiness, either here or hereafter. The all-comprehensive, all uplifting watchword of our time is social service, the working together of all forces for righteousness, for the readjustment of all relations between high and low, rich and poor, between the strong and the weak, between labor and capital, between the wise and the simple. And this grand principle is being extended today beyond the life of communities to the entire human family, to all the nations of the globe to unify them in the endeavor to establish righteousness and liberty, peace and concord everywhere and secure the protection of the small and the feeble by the big and the strong among the nations. But again we ask, where and by whom was this principle of life, this golden rule of ethics most emphatically voiced from the beginning and rendered the hope and the goal of humanity, if not by our great prophets of yore? And who has suffered and fought persistently and confidently throughout the ages for this glorious boon of liberty and justice as did the Jew, in whose innermost being this dynamic force still lives as a fire never to be quenched? Yes, the Jew is still the God-appointed champion of freedom and righteousness, the world's missionary of justice and liberty, all the more as he is still to battle and to suffer for them like no other class of people. And with such unparalleled experience

as the Jew has had throughout the centuries, and in the face of the world's attitude today towards our prophetic teaching, will he dare think first and last only of his own political security, instead of realizing that, as "the Lord's Servant" his life must above all, as heretofore, be one of service for the entire human race? To help in the redemption of the world by righteousness is his Messianic mission. Nor is it sufficient to claim the title of priority for this principle of social justice. He must substantiate his mission by its practice in so large a measure as to become from a mere materialistic pursuer of wealth, which he is often declared to be, the very banner-bearer of idealism to command the world's admiration and emulation. How did Abraham win souls for his God? the rabbis ask, and they answer, By taking all his possessions as having been entrusted to his stewardship and thus devoting his life to the service of God by his philanthropic work. So is the Deuteronomic verse: "And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart", interpreted in the ancient Midrash (*Sifre Deut.* 32ff) to mean: "Thou shalt make thy God to be beloved by all thy fellow-creatures through deeds of love as did Abraham" לכל הבריות כאברהם אהבהו The Jew's obligation and responsibility is accordingly a twofold one. He must take care of his own co-religionists and at the same time "hallow the name of his God by promoting social justice in the ever-widening circles of humanity.

But there is a third point in Israel's mission which must not be treated lightly, either. We have been appointed in our Sinai constitution as "a kingdom of priests and a holy nation", and, therefore, many laws were imposed upon us intended to distinguish us from the rest of mankind. Such laws were the laws of diet and dress and of levitical purity, which only the priestly casts had to observe elsewhere. They were gradually dropped by the modern Jew, not from frivolity, nor even for mere convenience, but in consequence of his closer contact with the surrounding world, from which he could, or should, not forever keep aloof, if he was to win it for his truths. Whether the Palestinian Jew will again observe them when there is no cause for discarding them, is a question which does not concern us. At all

events the spirit of these priestly laws expressive of Israel's sanctity should be maintained to render him the model and exemplar of life's holiness. There is above all the sanctity of the home, of marriage, of the relation to sex in which the Jew at all times excelled, and which wrested from the heathen seer of yore the exclamation: "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, thy dwellings, O Israel!" (Num. XXIV, 5). This ought to cause each Jew and Jewess still to stand out as priest and priestess at the domestic shrine to present to the world around him patterns of purity and chastity. It is not enough to avert from our children the danger of sinking to a lower level amidst the many allurements of the environment. The Jew today should, in realization of his priestly mission, be foremost in endeavoring to lift the generation from the mire of coarse sensuality with which the so-called social evil with its concomitant free love and other modes of licentiousness threatens to engulf it, and invest the bond of marriage and the home with the highest possible sacredness binding for all classes of men. Let it be understood that just as in summing up Jewish ethics in the three words: "Only to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with Thy God" the prophet addresses not Israel, but *man:* "It has been told thee, O man, what is good" (Micah IV, 8), so does the Law in giving the divine ordinances regarding marriage refer not to Israel only, but to man, saying: "Mine ordinances which, if a man do, he shall live by them" (Lev. XVIII, 5; comp. *Sifra* to the passage).

But holiness in the Jewish concept comprises much more. There is nothing so common or profane in all of life's functions that should not be hallowed by religion. "The bells of the horses shall bear the imprint: 'Holy unto the Lord'," says the prophet (Zech. XIV, 20). This is Jewish spirituality. Not a view to the world to come, but this world with all it offers and contains should be comprised by the idea of God's Kingdom.

How can we account for the strange fact that the lofty teachings of him whose birth is in the gospel story hailed as the harbinger of "peace and good will among men on earth"; that the high ideals voiced in the Sermon on the Mount, so full of sympathy with suffering humanity, should have brought about

discord and strife, hatred and persecution rather than harmony and peace among men and nations? The declaration: "My kingdom is not of this world", gave the whole earthly life a false valuation and direction. State and society, industry, culture and science were henceforth looked upon with contempt, as people hungered only after heavenly salvation and bliss. And when at last this whole system of threats and bribes, of Hell and Heaven, of a world punishment and reward beyond the grave broke down in our days, the deluge of sin, of crime and vice, of corruption and depravity from which we suffer today came, and our entire civilization was plunged into a state of barbarism and savagery beyond description. Man needs a higher and deeper ethical motive, and only a religion which makes *holiness* the aim of the soul instead of *salvation;* only a system of faith which teaches men to be good, because it is good and godly, and to shun evil, because it is evil and ungodly; only disinterested service of God and man emanating from the principle of life's holiness will lead mankind back to virtue, righteousness and peace. This is Judaism's teaching, whose kingdom of God is to be built by man here on earth.

But there is another important viewpoint which must be set forth in all its clearness as being essential to Israel's mission. It is the forward-looking attitude, the real Messianic element of progressive Judaism. The allegation frequently made that Judaism stood still for the last nineteen hundred years is far more true of the Christian Church. For her all the Messianic prophecies have been fulfilled in Jesus of Nazareth, who is looked upon as the highest possible type of human perfection. Yet this retrospective attitude is contrary to our very idea of historical progress, to the principle of evolution. Judaism has been through the various periods of history growing and expanding philosophically and ethically, and its Messiah has ever been looked for as coming to realize the prophetic dreams and visions. True, Orthodoxy awaits a Messiah from the house of David to come and restore the Temple and State of Judea in accordance with the Mosaic Code, and is therefore backward-looking instead of favoring progress and accepting the principle of evolution. As the stars in heaven are moved along their heavenly track by

both a centrifugal and centripetal force, so Judaism seems to require the centripetal force of conservatism, lest the centrifugal force of progress and reform sweep it off its historic path. This accounts for Orthodoxy, and as genuine Orthodoxy could not withstand the disintegrating force of the new age, it has now made a common cause with Zionism. The prophetic outlook and forward-pressing force of Reform Judaism, however, points insistently to the Messianic goal which gives it universal character, as voiced in our pulpits and our prayers. But then it should not be confined to the synagog. It should go out and challenge the non-Jewish world. Too long have we remained on the defensive. We must become aggressive in asserting our birthright. Too long have we been misunderstood and misjudged. Lectures and tracts are not sufficient. We need an extensive popular literature for general enlightenment. Let the world learn our view of Christianity and its founder. Let the New Testament teachings be shown in the true light of historical development and the so-called Christian civilization presented from the Jewish point of view. We need not, and should not belittle or depreciate any creed or rite, but we should by all means dissipate the erroneous notions concerning the Jew and Judaism prevalent among the masses, and set forth in impressive and lucid form the virtues of loyalty to country and home ever fostered and the intellectual and moral forces engendered by the teaching and training the Jew received in all the lands and ages. The cry for the Reconstruction of humanity stirs all hearts today. A new heaven and a new earth are the prophetic promises of our statesmen and seers. Who can be in closer sympathy with the stupendous plan of a world peace built on justice and liberty in which the leaders of the nations are engaged in these days, than is the descendant of the prophets and psalmists, the Jew whose scriptural truths built up the American Republic, and whose prophetic dreams and visions of yore are made the sponsors of a new humanity today? Decades, nay, centuries may pass before the lofty ideals will have become a reality; but we have learned to wait. Not for a Zion which is within easy reach, which is purchased and made a matter of diplomatic bargaining. Zion has for us a spiritual meaning. It is the symbol

of a united humanity, of the realization of mankind's highest ideal at the end of time.[8]

Let Palestine, our ancient home, under the protection of the great nations, or under the specific British suzerainty, again become a center of Jewish culture and a safe refuge to the homeless. We shall all welcome it and aid in the promotion of the work. Let the million or more of Jewish citizens dwelling there amidst the large Christian and Mohammedan population attached to their own sacred spots, be empowered and encouraged to build up a commonwealth broad and liberal in spirit to serve as a school for international and interdenominational humanity. We shall all hail the undertaking and pray for its prosperity. The historic task of the Jew is not to be, and cannot be, accomplished therewith. This would never be the solution of the great enigma of Jewish history, nor a satisfactory end to the awful tragedy. Call Israel, as did Judah ha Levi, the great lover of Zion, the heart of mankind whose life sap was to flow through the arteries of the nations, or compare it, as was repeatedly done, to the Gulf Stream, whose warm currents run through the ocean to calm its wild waves, the Jew will ever remain an international force influencing the world, as it has been influenced by it on its course through the lands and the ages. His place is *not* among the *League of Nations,* but among the *League of Religions,* as already indicated by the last of the prophets when he says: "From the rising of the sun even to the going down of the same, My name is great among the nations . . . saith the Lord of hosts" (Mal. I, 11).

Of course, before going outside for this missionary activity, we must begin within our own circle, and in concert with all our brethren, conservative or progressive, endeavor to make the modern Jew again a zealous lover of the Torah. We must first regenerate our own people before attempting to regenerate the world—קשוט עצמך ואחר כך קשוט אחרים. Moreover, in hearty cooperation with all liberal and liberalizing forces around us, we should strive to broaden as well as deepen, to elevate as well as

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[8] See my "Jewish Theology" with reference to *Pes. R.* 144b and *Mid. Teh.* Ps. XXXVI, 6.

humanize religion so to make it everywhere the high road to the great Temple of humanity, "the house of prayer for all nations".

Not in haste, nor running the risk of being lost on the way shall we perform our mission among the Gentile world, but with due regard to our sacred heritage and our character as the priest people. "For ye shall not go out in haste, neither shall ye go by flight, for the Lord will go before you and the Lord of Israel will be your rearward" (Isa. LII, 12). Not a Church Universal, nor a uniform religion for all, but the divine truth reflected in many systems of belief and thought, just as the diamond reflects light by its many facets, a religion ever progressive on lines of historical continuity, but never finished or final, leading all the nations and classes of men to the mountain of God—this is Judaism's aim, the realization of our Messianic hope, the establishment of God's kingdom on earth.

Yet at no time and in no country has the opportunity come to the Jew to again mount the watchtower of prophecy, and in working out his mission to unfold the banner of the highest idealism for all humanity as at the present great turning-point in the world's history, and in America, to whom a disrupted and disjointed world looks to be reset on the firm and lasting foundations of justice, liberty and peace.

DISCUSSION

Rabbi Schulman—It has been my privilege and good fortune in life to follow Dr. Kohler. I have not followed him merely in the literal sense in his pulpit, but it has been a great joy to me to be able to follow him in thought, to agree in all essentials, with his interpretation of Judaism, as laid down in his masterly work on Jewish Theology on an historical basis, which will become a classic. I therefore find it difficult to discuss the exhaustive presentation on "The Mission of Israel" and its application to modern times, to which we have just had the pleasure of listening. It is a splendid piece of work and bears witness to the wonderful mental vigor of the revered and beloved Nestor

of American Judaism. My difficulty in discussing this comes from the fact that I find hardly anything to criticise in it, or with which to take issue. It is the best exposition we have had in concise form, of the doctrine of the mission of Israel. The first part is rich in ample learning, as was to be expected. Indeed, it seems a work of supererogation to attempt to crush by so much learning, a view which is discredited by the whole tendency of Jewish history. For anyone to deny that the Jews were conscious of having a mission on behalf of humanity, is to deny that there is such a thing as a soul of Israel. For anyone to attempt to limit the outlook of Israel to itself, to make its spirit shrink to the confines of ordinary political nationality and to the boundaries of a particular soil, is to disregard the very claim of Israel's worship of a universal God, is to forget the visions of Israel's Prophets and is to fail to understand the significance of the Prophetic discovery of the supreme law of life, the law of righteousness as the only means whereby the one true God reveals Himself. In short, to deny the mission of Israel, is to deny the claims and ideals of the Jew. Dr. Kohler gives an exhaustive resumé of the proofs for the idea of the Jewish mission, from Bible, from Hellenistic literature, from the Pharisaic and Rabbinic tradition. His proof is cumulative and overwhelming. And the centre of his argumentation, the matrix, as it were, of the philosophy of the Jewish mission, working backward in the history of Israel, as its illuminating culmination, and working forward as a sufficient philosophy for all times, he finds in the conceptions of Deutero-Isaiah and in the doctrine of Israel as the servant of God. I fully agree with him. I have felt for a long time that the roots of my own religious life and my own Jewish thinking, are in the thoughts and ideals of the great anonymous seer of the exile. No one has better stated the paradox of Jewish experience, no one has better indicated the tragedy of Israel in the world, no one has emphasized Israel's sublime privilege, and at the same time has anticipated any possible cynical criticism and any pointing to the contrast between Israel in the flesh and Israel in the spirit, no one has made clearer that it is not the so-called Jewish race as such that is the servant of the Eternal, but the Jew in spirit is

called to be the martyr for the Eternal, as did this great Prophet, with his twofold statement: "Behold My servant!" and "Who is as blind as My servant?" One does not know what to admire more, the profundity of the Prophet's insight into the destiny of Israel, or the literary genius which, in matchless pithiness and power, summarizes the meaning of the existence of the Jew, giving him an undying inspiration, if he knows and understands himself, and providing him with an undying monition to save him from racial pride and from the idolatry of the day, which might tempt him in talking in the jargon of the time, of his character as a super-people.

Dr. Kohler, in the second part of his paper, brings out clearly and convincingly the peculiar character of Israel's mission. I like to say, that in a sense, there is nothing simpler than Israel's mission. Briefly put, it means to witness to God. How Israel is to witness to God will be determined by the peculiar needs of any particular time or any particular country. It is a question of method. Whether Israel is to be an active missionary, as Dr. Kohler seems to prove he was in the pre-Christian centuries, whether he is to be the martyred missionary, as he was through the Middle Ages, whether in lands that give him perfect freedom, he is to live with spiritual intensity and thus be an example, drawing men to himself, as Israel did draw Roman and Greek, by the purity of his worship, by the loftiness of his morality and by the beauty of his home-life, or whether, availing himself of perfect freedom of conscience, he is to be active in the intellectual controversies of the day and make positive propaganda for his faith, is purely and simply a question of method. The fact remains that the business of the Jew is to bear witness unto God, that the whole sum and substance of the Jewish consciousness is to be aware of a Greater than man, of a Greater than Israel, of a Greater than humanity, and that is the One Spiritual God, the Lord of the spirits of all flesh, the Father of mankind. Whatever the world may do to us or to itself, this witnessing is our business, wherever we may find ourselves. And it is our mission and calling, in the same sense that the individual has the calling of his life determined in accordance with his gifts, with his unique genius. The calling of Israel is to be

God's people. And therefore it follows that his home should be everywhere.

Lastly, Dr. Kohler in the third part of his paper presents a constructive program, in which he emphasizes four points. He refers to the fact, that a new method in presenting the development of the Jewish spirit should be pursued, that is, by education we should win our people again, and through our people, the world. He makes clear that the essence of the mission of the modern Jew, is to serve. He must not think of his own happiness, but of the social happiness. He must not content himself with anything political, as a refuge or security, but his Messianic mission is to help the world's redemption by righteousness. Thirdly, he is to be an example, by the priestly sanctity of his life. And lastly, he is to maintain the forward-looking attitude, saying, in my own words, that the Messiah is ever coming, though he is not yet here. And as the English poet has it, "The best is yet to be." Not in the past, has the perfect been presented, but the perfect is growing. The evolution never reaches finality. That, I myself believe, is the essence of the Jewish Messianic hope. As I said somewhere else, "Jewish messianism, quick to hope and hard to satisfy, is the essence of Jewish idealism." That is why Judaism has never recognized any particular Messiah. That is why modern Judaism quite correctly feels that the belief in a personal Messiah, is only a temporary limitation, the result of temporary needs and peculiar conditions of religious belief and human culture, of the everlasting truth of the idea of the Kingdom of God sometimes in perfection, to be established on earth. With the constructive program, I again, in the main, fully agree. I therefore feel that it is difficult to discuss the paper, because I am quite willing on the whole, to subscribe in spirit to it. It will remain a useful and inspiring presentation of the mission idea in Israel.

I will permit myself to supplement what Dr. Kohler said, with a few thoughts of my own. In my opinion, the demand of the hour is not to justify Reform Judaism's emphasis of the mission idea. It is Reform Judaism's glory, in the course of its attempt to adjust Judaism to a new physical, political and mental environment, to have rediscovered and made clear, and to have

made the Jew conscious of the idea which runs all through his history. What we need, indeed, is to convert the Jew in life, to this idea of a mission. And what we also need, is a clear understanding that this mission is, by no means, antiquated. We need to convert the Jew to a vitalized God-consciousness. In my opinion, a period of spiritual reconstruction should now be begun. The work of Reform Judaism which was, in the main, critical, rationalistic, analytical, opportunistic, should now be supplemented with a deliberate determination to build up spiritual values in the consciousness of the Jew. It is always faith that is creative. Science and reason are explanatory and analytical. Science always comes after the fact, and is a footnote to life. Life itself is, in its essence, a mystery that eludes science, just as the creative genius of the artist eludes artistic or literary criticism, no matter how thorough-going it may be in providing the canons according to which the work of creation has been accomplished. And so it is in religion. The religious life is essentially personal faith. And this is what needs revitalization in the Jew and in the modern world.

We must ask ourselves, whither we are tending. We must make up our mind that we are to live in the Western world permanently. Now, Reform Judaism has done wonderful work. It was won all along the line. Life has helped it. The most theoretical, uncompromising Orthodoxy has been, in spite of itself, influenced by the life of the Western environment and has been compelled to reform. But no angel, or messenger, as is well known, according to the Talmud, can perform two missions. The time of adjustment, of break with tradition, of rationalism, of critical investigation of the past, and of necessary undermining of authority, is not propitious to building up deep, strong, enthusiastic faith. We will have to become wise and understand that the emancipation movement for the Jew, was not the Messiah, no more than is the revived Nationalism which, as Dr. Kohler well points out, may be considered as a spiritual reaction against it, the realization of the messianic goal. We need today a higher synthesis. It is good for us to emphasize that Nationalism is not what Judaism means. But on the other hand, we cannot content ourselves with complacent glorification of our

achievements. We need a reconsecration of the Jew to religion. Through the emancipation, the Jew gained in freedom, in science and material comfort, but to a great extent, lost in spirituality. We are in danger of becoming a despiritualized and therefore, demoralized racial element in the Western World. There is too much racialism in modern Jewry, whether we consider the extreme right or the extreme left. For we must recognize that we have racialists of the left, who wish to see Judaism as a religion, that is, as a system of life, expressing man's relation to God, destroyed. Certainly, they are absolutely indifferent to it. It does not concern us, just now, to make clear to them their own perplexities and contradictions. When men consider themselves Jews, and yet have nothing to do with the God of Israel, and, at the same time, are very jealous about emphasizing their refusal to talk of Jewish nationality or Jewish race within American life, we must simply tell them that the only thing that exists in them, is really the shreds and patches of an utterly unconsecrated racialism. These types I call the racialists of the left. And, of course, the secular Nationalists among the Jews, who are so thoroughly assimilated to Western thought, and the newest thought at that, of the predominant racialism and Nationalism, which have held sway in the Western World, that they would make in Palestine something new—a Jewish secular nation—we call them the racialists of the right. The mission of Israel is simple—always to witness to the religious idea. We did so in an idolatrous world, in antiquity. We are called upon to witness to it in our own time, which is a time travailing with a spiritual hunger. We are living in the world of Christendom, which is outgrowing its conception of the Divine. That makes the tragedy of the modern man. We need offer no apology for our idea, but we have much to apologize for ourselves. We have not risen to the possibilities that our history demands of us.

The reason that those who oppose Reform Judaism, poke fun at our claim that we have a mission, seems to me to consist in their conventional thinking. They assume that Judaism has triumphed in the world. They believe that everybody is monotheistic. They tell us that our work is done. I deny that

monotheism has conquered. I deny that the conception of humanity has conquered. I deny that the Jewish idea of a law, of a Torah in the heart of men, has conquered. If we do not think conventionally, if we are not misled by words and by platform phrases, we will see that there is much work to be done for the idea of Israel's God, who called Israel in righteousness to open blind eyes and to bring out of the prison-house, those who dwell in darkness. In the first place, we overestimate the modernity of the masses. We are inclined, limiting our view to the circles with which we come in contact, to overestimate the influence of liberalism in the world. On the other hand, we are apt to misinterpret the collapse of Christian dogma which, as we know, was the creation of Hellenistic metaphysics married to the chaos of beliefs and asceticisms and yearnings for saviors and salvation, which made up the religious brooding of the Mediterranean basin, when Christianity arose. The modern world is, indeed, shedding these dogmas. But it is quite a question whether it is not also seeking to break with the whole religious tradition that arose at Sinai and in Zion. In short, we think we have won, because Christendom, through its science and culture, has shattered the inherited creeds. We do not stop to realize that religion itself, with its essentials, is fighting for existence. And I say this, despite the fact that I am well aware that there is a spiritual revival. It is up to us to be the missionary for the religious idea in the world. We are not attracting very much attention to ourselves, because of our creative work in the religious field. If we were faithful to our mission, if we could convert our own geniuses, the best brains of the Jews would be dedicated to reconstructing the world spiritually. I know that theology is out of fashion. Nevertheless, theology only means clear thinking. It is the presentation of genuine religious experience in the form of concepts, in the form of a reflective philosophy. If our brainy Jews who do write, have nothing to say, like a Wells or a Bojer, about the religious problem, to speak only of popular novelists and not to think of technical philosophers or theologians, then it shows that they have no religious experience. And so Israel should seek to convert them. And if it would convert them, it would help to

led a consecrated life. In the midst of a world full of profanity and vulgarity, of coarse sensuality and drunkenness he displayed the virtues of chastity and modesty in his domestic and social sphere. His whole being was amidst all temptations and tempests of life anchored upon loyalty. The Law extending over all phases and functions of life disciplined him to render him sober and earnest, a veritable priest among the nations, however little recognized as such. Each Jew was a living protest against the dogmas of the Church which placed a man born of woman on God's throne, and defied human reason in order to save the soul. He was God's priest and prophet pointing to a better day, to God's Kingdom on earth.

With the downfall of the ghetto walls the relation of the Jew to the surrounding world changed, and no less so his whole aspect and mode of life. Emancipation made him a citizen in all the Western lands and placed before him the alternative of loyalty to all the laws and customs of his national past or of unreserved acceptance of the mandates of his newly acquired citizenship. It was a severe crisis he had to go through. Amidst the changed social conditions the Law upon which his life and his faith had so securely rested all these centuries, lost its hold upon him, however tenaciously the few still clung to it. To this outward cause there came the spirit of progress, of historical investigation and, above all, the general secular education with its appeal to reason and common sense, which undermined his traditional belief and his loyalty to a glorious past. He no longer could conscientiously pray and hope for the restitution of the sacrificial cult in the Temple at Jerusalem, nor for the restoration of the State to be fashioned again after the Mosaic Law. The whole of Judaism seemed to be swept away by the on-rushing tide of new ideas. But there amidst the despondency, which had seized upon the faithful, and the apostacy which spread to an alarming degree among the would-be enlightened, the Reform leaders stepped in to check the evil by translating Israel's past, its literature and history, in the light of the new spirit of historical investigation. With a deeper insight into the prophetical writings and the *Haggadic* or philosophical utterances of sages, they laid all the stress on the eternal verities,

the essentials of Judaism which remained the same amidst the ever-changing conditions.

This led them to bring the mission of Israel, thus long obscured and ignored amidst the legalistic view of medieval Judaism, into the foreground,[7] and to illumine the path, the life task and duty of the Jew in distinction to other religious sects. Nor must it be said, as we are so frequently told, that the doctrines of Judaism such as its pure monotheism, its concept of man as the son of God, its cosmic Unity which has no place for a Satanic power of evil, or its ethical principle of holiness which includes all of life and demands disinterestness in the doing of good and the shunning of evil, that all these are only for the theologian, the man in the pulpit to proclaim and defend, but not within the scope of the people at large. The average Jew still shows that he stands forth steadfast through the ages, as "the witness" to the Unity of God as the Father of all and to the one undivided humanity in the coming Kingdom of God. Moreover, liberal Christianity has fully come to the recognition of what the steadfast loyalty of the Jew to his sublime faith throughout the lands and the ages has done for the world. Never before was the outside world so eager and willing to listen to the view of progressive Judaism and to accept its doctrines as it is today. What Dr. Wise is reported to have said in his intimate circle to the effect that within fifty years Judaism's teachings will have become the common property of the American people seems to come more and more within the possibility of realization. Amidst the stimulating intermingling of ideas and exchange of thought in press, platform and pulpit, amidst the general enlightenment through education and the open forum of discussion which works for progress, liberty and democracy, the narrow ecclesiastical systems of belief and absolute forms of religious practice are discarded. Orthodoxy in all creeds is fast dwindling away and melting like the snow before the sun of spring. A wonderful transformation is taking place

[7] See Geiger *Wiss. Zeitsch.* 1868, 18 and Union Prayer Book II, 332 and compare to the following the suggestive chapter "The Mission of Israel" in Claude G. Montefiore's *"Outlines of Liberal Judaism,* p. 156-170.

in the various Churches. The cry for reconstruction is heard everywhere. People crave for Unity, for a faith which unites Protestant, Catholic and Jew, nay, even Mohammedan and Hindoo Theist in a God who is the Father of all and hears the prayers of all, for a God in whom all find refuge in trouble, comfort and strength in hours of trial and death, a God who is the deepest and holiest experience of the human soul. Is this not the God of the Bible, of patriarch and prophet, the God sought and yearned for by the first man and looked up to in aspiration and adoration by the last, the God of History, revealed to humanity by the religious genius of the Jew? But then we are confronted with the question: What are your credentials as a missionary people today? We certainly do not, nor should we, aim at converting the non-Jew. Ever since R. Joshua ben Chananiah uttered the beautiful words: "The righteous of all nations shall have a share in the world of eternal bliss", our maxim has been Conviction, not Conversion; Conduct, not Confession; Deed, not Creed. But who will deny that the Jew who suffered so much for the truth has still that passion and zeal for the truth which cannot remain indifferent to what others think and take as the great verities of life. His must still be that deep conviction which works like a wholesome contagion upon others. His incomparable history and literature must have endowed him with that religious experience and religious devotion which would for all time render him the trusted guardian and acknowledged defender of Israel's heritage. And if the average Jew today knows so little of the great treasures deposited in our matchless literature, and lacks all acquaintance with the names and deeds of our heroes and martyrs, our thinkers and poets, with our unique history of the ages, so as no longer to burn with the desire to make his God the banner of truth to rally all men around, the fault lies with our education, not with the mission idea of Judaism. As a matter of fact, the modern time requires modern methods of reading the Scripture and the entire religious literature of both Judaism and Christianity. Israel's monotheistic truth has not come ready-made from heaven, nor from the brain of law-giver and prophet to be accepted in blind belief. It is the product of a long process of growth, ever

ripening and expanding with the ages, the outgrowth of the religious genius of the Jew which was still to some extent working in the founders of the Church. Presented in this light of historic development as the ripest fruit of the Jewish spirit at each epoch, the Jewish truth cannot but arouse new love and zeal in the new generation to make all zealous defenders and champions of a religion whose spirit is perennial, as the God to which it testifies is eternal. And should this mission of the Jew for his only God cease at the very time when the world needs him most, and is actually waiting for him to present the truth of our seers and sages in its immaculate purity, cleansed from the alloys which depreciated its value in the eyes of all thinking people? Yet only in living and working *in* and *with* the world for his Only God can he achieve this mission.

And there is the other insistent cry of the age: Religion must be *life,* a life of *service,* not self-seeking solicitude for happiness, either here or hereafter. The all-comprehensive, all uplifting watchword of our time is social service, the working together of all forces for righteousness, for the readjustment of all relations between high and low, rich and poor, between the strong and the weak, between labor and capital, between the wise and the simple. And this grand principle is being extended today beyond the life of communities to the entire human family, to all the nations of the globe to unify them in the endeavor to establish righteousness and liberty, peace and concord everywhere and secure the protection of the small and the feeble by the big and the strong among the nations. But again we ask, where and by whom was this principle of life, this golden rule of ethics most emphatically voiced from the beginning and rendered the hope and the goal of humanity, if not by our great prophets of yore? And who has suffered and fought persistently and confidently throughout the ages for this glorious boon of liberty and justice as did the Jew, in whose innermost being this dynamic force still lives as a fire never to be quenched? Yes, the Jew is still the God-appointed champion of freedom and righteousness, the world's missionary of justice and liberty, all the more as he is still to battle and to suffer for them like no other class of people. And with such unparalleled experience

as the Jew has had throughout the centuries, and in the face of the world's attitude today towards our prophetic teaching, will he dare think first and last only of his own political security, instead of realizing that, as "the Lord's Servant" his life must above all, as heretofore, be one of service for the entire human race? To help in the redemption of the world by righteousness is his Messianic mission. Nor is it sufficient to claim the title of priority for this principle of social justice. He must substantiate his mission by its practice in so large a measure as to become from a mere materialistic pursuer of wealth, which he is often declared to be, the very banner-bearer of idealism to command the world's admiration and emulation. How did Abraham win souls for his God? the rabbis ask, and they answer, By taking all his possessions as having been entrusted to his stewardship and thus devoting his life to the service of God by his philanthropic work. So is the Deuteronomic verse: "And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart", interpreted in the ancient Midrash (*Sifre Deut.* 32ff) to mean: "Thou shalt make thy God to be beloved by all thy fellow-creatures through deeds of love as did Abraham" לכל הבריות כאברהם אהבהו The Jew's obligation and responsibility is accordingly a twofold one. He must take care of his own co-religionists and at the same time "hallow the name of his God by promoting social justice in the ever-widening circles of humanity.

But there is a third point in Israel's mission which must not be treated lightly, either. We have been appointed in our Sinai constitution as "a kingdom of priests and a holy nation", and, therefore, many laws were imposed upon us intended to distinguish us from the rest of mankind. Such laws were the laws of diet and dress and of levitical purity, which only the priestly casts had to observe elsewhere. They were gradually dropped by the modern Jew, not from frivolity, nor even for mere convenience, but in consequence of his closer contact with the surrounding world, from which he could, or should, not forever keep aloof, if he was to win it for his truths. Whether the Palestinian Jew will again observe them when there is no cause for discarding them, is a question which does not concern us. At all

events the spirit of these priestly laws expressive of Israel's sanctity should be maintained to render him the model and exemplar of life's holiness. There is above all the sanctity of the home, of marriage, of the relation to sex in which the Jew at all times excelled, and which wrested from the heathen seer of yore the exclamation: "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, thy dwellings, O Israel!" (Num. XXIV, 5). This ought to cause each Jew and Jewess still to stand out as priest and priestess at the domestic shrine to present to the world around him patterns of purity and chastity. It is not enough to avert from our children the danger of sinking to a lower level amidst the many allurements of the environment. The Jew today should, in realization of his priestly mission, be foremost in endeavoring to lift the generation from the mire of coarse sensuality with which the so-called social evil with its concomitant free love and other modes of licentiousness threatens to engulf it, and invest the bond of marriage and the home with the highest possible sacredness binding for all classes of men. Let it be understood that just as in summing up Jewish ethics in the three words: "Only to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with Thy God" the prophet addresses not Israel, but *man:* "It has been told thee, O man, what is good" (Micah IV, 8), so does the Law in giving the divine ordinances regarding marriage refer not to Israel only, but to man, saying: "Mine ordinances which, if a man do, he shall live by them" (Lev. XVIII, 5; comp. *Sifra* to the passage).

But holiness in the Jewish concept comprises much more. There is nothing so common or profane in all of life's functions that should not be hallowed by religion. "The bells of the horses shall bear the imprint: 'Holy unto the Lord'," says the prophet (Zech. XIV, 20). This is Jewish spirituality. Not a view to the world to come, but this world with all it offers and contains should be comprised by the idea of God's Kingdom.

How can we account for the strange fact that the lofty teachings of him whose birth is in the gospel story hailed as the harbinger of "peace and good will among men on earth"; that the high ideals voiced in the Sermon on the Mount, so full of sympathy with suffering humanity, should have brought about

discord and strife, hatred and persecution rather than harmony and peace among men and nations? The declaration: "My kingdom is not of this world", gave the whole earthly life a false valuation and direction. State and society, industry, culture and science were henceforth looked upon with contempt, as people hungered only after heavenly salvation and bliss. And when at last this whole system of threats and bribes, of Hell and Heaven, of a world punishment and reward beyond the grave broke down in our days, the deluge of sin, of crime and vice, of corruption and depravity from which we suffer today came, and our entire civilization was plunged into a state of barbarism and savagery beyond description. Man needs a higher and deeper ethical motive, and only a religion which makes *holiness* the aim of the soul instead of *salvation;* only a system of faith which teaches men to be good, because it is good and godly, and to shun evil, because it is evil and ungodly; only disinterested service of God and man emanating from the principle of life's holiness will lead mankind back to virtue, righteousness and peace. This is Judaism's teaching, whose kingdom of God is to be built by man here on earth.

But there is another important viewpoint which must be set forth in all its clearness as being essential to Israel's mission. It is the forward-looking attitude, the real Messianic element of progressive Judaism. The allegation frequently made that Judaism stood still for the last nineteen hundred years is far more true of the Christian Church. For her all the Messianic prophecies have been fulfilled in Jesus of Nazareth, who is looked upon as the highest possible type of human perfection. Yet this retrospective attitude is contrary to our very idea of historical progress, to the principle of evolution. Judaism has been through the various periods of history growing and expanding philosophically and ethically, and its Messiah has ever been looked for as coming to realize the prophetic dreams and visions. True, Orthodoxy awaits a Messiah from the house of David to come and restore the Temple and State of Judea in accordance with the Mosaic Code, and is therefore backward-looking instead of favoring progress and accepting the principle of evolution. As the stars in heaven are moved along their heavenly track by

both a centrifugal and centripetal force, so Judaism seems to require the centripetal force of conservatism, lest the centrifugal force of progress and reform sweep it off its historic path. This accounts for Orthodoxy, and as genuine Orthodoxy could not withstand the disintegrating force of the new age, it has now made a common cause with Zionism. The prophetic outlook and forward-pressing force of Reform Judaism, however, points insistently to the Messianic goal which gives it universal character, as voiced in our pulpits and our prayers. But then it should not be confined to the synagog. It should go out and challenge the non-Jewish world. Too long have we remained on the defensive. We must become aggressive in asserting our birthright. Too long have we been misunderstood and misjudged. Lectures and tracts are not sufficient. We need an extensive popular literature for general enlightenment. Let the world learn our view of Christianity and its founder. Let the New Testament teachings be shown in the true light of historical development and the so-called Christian civilization presented from the Jewish point of view. We need not, and should not belittle or depreciate any creed or rite, but we should by all means dissipate the erroneous notions concerning the Jew and Judaism prevalent among the masses, and set forth in impressive and lucid form the virtues of loyalty to country and home ever fostered and the intellectual and moral forces engendered by the teaching and training the Jew received in all the lands and ages. The cry for the Reconstruction of humanity stirs all hearts today. A new heaven and a new earth are the prophetic promises of our statesmen and seers. Who can be in closer sympathy with the stupendous plan of a world peace built on justice and liberty in which the leaders of the nations are engaged in these days, than is the descendant of the prophets and psalmists, the Jew whose scriptural truths built up the American Republic, and whose prophetic dreams and visions of yore are made the sponsors of a new humanity today? Decades, nay, centuries may pass before the lofty ideals will have become a reality; but we have learned to wait. Not for a Zion which is within easy reach, which is purchased and made a matter of diplomatic bargaining. Zion has for us a spiritual meaning. It is the symbol

of a united humanity, of the realization of mankind's highest ideal at the end of time.[8]

Let Palestine, our ancient home, under the protection of the great nations, or under the specific British suzerainty, again become a center of Jewish culture and a safe refuge to the homeless. We shall all welcome it and aid in the promotion of the work. Let the million or more of Jewish citizens dwelling there amidst the large Christian and Mohammedan population attached to their own sacred spots, be empowered and encouraged to build up a commonwealth broad and liberal in spirit to serve as a school for international and interdenominational humanity. We shall all hail the undertaking and pray for its prosperity. The historic task of the Jew is not to be, and cannot be, accomplished therewith. This would never be the solution of the great enigma of Jewish history, nor a satisfactory end to the awful tragedy. Call Israel, as did Judah ha Levi, the great lover of Zion, the heart of mankind whose life sap was to flow through the arteries of the nations, or compare it, as was repeatedly done, to the Gulf Stream, whose warm currents run through the ocean to calm its wild waves, the Jew will ever remain an international force influencing the world, as it has been influenced by it on its course through the lands and the ages. His place is *not* among the *League of Nations,* but among the *League of Religions,* as already indicated by the last of the prophets when he says: "From the rising of the sun even to the going down of the same, My name is great among the nations . . . saith the Lord of hosts" (Mal. I, 11).

Of course, before going outside for this missionary activity, we must begin within our own circle, and in concert with all our brethren, conservative or progressive, endeavor to make the modern Jew again a zealous lover of the Torah. We must first regenerate our own people before attempting to regenerate the world—קשוט עצמך ואחר כך קשוט אחרים. Moreover, in hearty cooperation with all liberal and liberalizing forces around us, we should strive to broaden as well as deepen, to elevate as well as

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[8] See my "Jewish Theology" with reference to *Pes. R.* 144b and *Mid. Teh.* Ps. XXXVI, 6.

humanize religion so to make it everywhere the high road to the great Temple of humanity, "the house of prayer for all nations".

Not in haste, nor running the risk of being lost on the way shall we perform our mission among the Gentile world, but with due regard to our sacred heritage and our character as the priest people. "For ye shall not go out in haste, neither shall ye go by flight, for the Lord will go before you and the Lord of Israel will be your rearward" (Isa. LII, 12). Not a Church Universal, nor a uniform religion for all, but the divine truth reflected in many systems of belief and thought, just as the diamond reflects light by its many facets, a religion ever progressive on lines of historical continuity, but never finished or final, leading all the nations and classes of men to the mountain of God—this is Judaism's aim, the realization of our Messianic hope, the establishment of God's kingdom on earth.

Yet at no time and in no country has the opportunity come to the Jew to again mount the watchtower of prophecy, and in working out his mission to unfold the banner of the highest idealism for all humanity as at the present great turning-point in the world's history, and in America, to whom a disrupted and disjointed world looks to be reset on the firm and lasting foundations of justice, liberty and peace.

DISCUSSION

Rabbi Schulman—It has been my privilege and good fortune in life to follow Dr. Kohler. I have not followed him merely in the literal sense in his pulpit, but it has been a great joy to me to be able to follow him in thought, to agree in all essentials, with his interpretation of Judaism, as laid down in his masterly work on Jewish Theology on an historical basis, which will become a classic. I therefore find it difficult to discuss the exhaustive presentation on "The Mission of Israel" and its application to modern times, to which we have just had the pleasure of listening. It is a splendid piece of work and bears witness to the wonderful mental vigor of the revered and beloved Nestor

of American Judaism. My difficulty in discussing this comes from the fact that I find hardly anything to criticise in it, or with which to take issue. It is the best exposition we have had in concise form, of the doctrine of the mission of Israel. The first part is rich in ample learning, as was to be expected. Indeed, it seems a work of supererogation to attempt to crush by so much learning, a view which is discredited by the whole tendency of Jewish history. For anyone to deny that the Jews were conscious of having a mission on behalf of humanity, is to deny that there is such a thing as a soul of Israel. For anyone to attempt to limit the outlook of Israel to itself, to make its spirit shrink to the confines of ordinary political nationality and to the boundaries of a particular soil, is to disregard the very claim of Israel's worship of a universal God, is to forget the visions of Israel's Prophets and is to fail to understand the significance of the Prophetic discovery of the supreme law of life, the law of righteousness as the only means whereby the one true God reveals Himself. In short, to deny the mission of Israel, is to deny the claims and ideals of the Jew. Dr. Kohler gives an exhaustive resumé of the proofs for the idea of the Jewish mission, from Bible, from Hellenistic literature, from the Pharisaic and Rabbinic tradition. His proof is cumulative and overwhelming. And the centre of his argumentation, the matrix, as it were, of the philosophy of the Jewish mission, working backward in the history of Israel, as its illuminating culmination, and working forward as a sufficient philosophy for all times, he finds in the conceptions of Deutero-Isaiah and in the doctrine of Israel as the servant of God. I fully agree with him. I have felt for a long time that the roots of my own religious life and my own Jewish thinking, are in the thoughts and ideals of the great anonymous seer of the exile. No one has better stated the paradox of Jewish experience, no one has better indicated the tragedy of Israel in the world, no one has emphasized Israel's sublime privilege, and at the same time has anticipated any possible cynical criticism and any pointing to the contrast between Israel in the flesh and Israel in the spirit, no one has made clearer that it is not the so-called Jewish race as such that is the servant of the Eternal, but the Jew in spirit is

called to be the martyr for the Eternal, as did this great Prophet, with his twofold statement: "Behold My servant!" and "Who is as blind as My servant?" One does not know what to admire more, the profundity of the Prophet's insight into the destiny of Israel, or the literary genius which, in matchless pithiness and power, summarizes the meaning of the existence of the Jew, giving him an undying inspiration, if he knows and understands himself, and providing him with an undying monition to save him from racial pride and from the idolatry of the day, which might tempt him in talking in the jargon of the time, of his character as a super-people.

Dr. Kohler, in the second part of his paper, brings out clearly and convincingly the peculiar character of Israel's mission. I like to say, that in a sense, there is nothing simpler than Israel's mission. Briefly put, it means to witness to God. How Israel is to witness to God will be determined by the peculiar needs of any particular time or any particular country. It is a question of method. Whether Israel is to be an active missionary, as Dr. Kohler seems to prove he was in the pre-Christian centuries. whether he is to be the martyred missionary, as he was through the Middle Ages, whether in lands that give him perfect freedom, he is to live with spiritual intensity and thus be an example, drawing men to himself, as Israel did draw Roman and Greek, by the purity of his worship, by the loftiness of his morality and by the beauty of his home-life, or whether, availing himself of perfect freedom of conscience, he is to be active in the intellectual controversies of the day and make positive propaganda for his faith, is purely and simply a question of method. The fact remains that the business of the Jew is to bear witness unto God, that the whole sum and substance of the Jewish consciousness is to be aware of a Greater than man, of a Greater than Israel, of a Greater than humanity, and that is the One Spiritual God, the Lord of the spirits of all flesh, the Father of mankind. Whatever the world may do to us or to itself, this witnessing is our business, wherever we may find ourselves. And it is our mission and calling, in the same sense that the individual has the calling of his life determined in accordance with his gifts, with his unique genius. The calling of Israel is to be

God's people. And therefore it follows that his home should be everywhere.

Lastly, Dr. Kohler in the third part of his paper presents a constructive program, in which he emphasizes four points. He refers to the fact, that a new method in presenting the development of the Jewish spirit should be pursued, that is, by education we should win our people again, and through our people, the world. He makes clear that the essence of the mission of the modern Jew, is to serve. He must not think of his own happiness, but of the social happiness. He must not content himself with anything political, as a refuge or security, but his Messianic mission is to help the world's redemption by righteousness. Thirdly, he is to be an example, by the priestly sanctity of his life. And lastly, he is to maintain the forward-looking attitude, saying, in my own words, that the Messiah is ever coming, though he is not yet here. And as the English poet has it, "The best is yet to be." Not in the past, has the perfect been presented, but the perfect is growing. The evolution never reaches finality. That, I myself believe, is the essence of the Jewish Messianic hope. As I said somewhere else, "Jewish messianism, quick to hope and hard to satisfy, is the essence of Jewish idealism." That is why Judaism has never recognized any particular Messiah. That is why modern Judaism quite correctly feels that the belief in a personal Messiah, is only a temporary limitation, the result of temporary needs and peculiar conditions of religious belief and human culture, of the everlasting truth of the idea of the Kingdom of God sometimes in perfection, to be established on earth. With the constructive program, I again, in the main, fully agree. I therefore feel that it is difficult to discuss the paper, because I am quite willing on the whole, to subscribe in spirit to it. It will remain a useful and inspiring presentation of the mission idea in Israel.

I will permit myself to supplement what Dr. Kohler said, with a few thoughts of my own. In my opinion, the demand of the hour is not to justify Reform Judaism's emphasis of the mission idea. It is Reform Judaism's glory, in the course of its attempt to adjust Judaism to a new physical, political and mental environment, to have rediscovered and made clear, and to have

made the Jew conscious of the idea which runs all through his history. What we need, indeed, is to convert the Jew in life, to this idea of a mission. And what we also need, is a clear understanding that this mission is, by no means, antiquated. We need to convert the Jew to a vitalized God-consciousness. In my opinion, a period of spiritual reconstruction should now be begun. The work of Reform Judaism which was, in the main, critical, rationalistic, analytical, opportunistic, should now be supplemented with a deliberate determination to build up spiritual values in the consciousness of the Jew. It is always faith that is creative. Science and reason are explanatory and analytical. Science always comes after the fact, and is a footnote to life. Life itself is, in its essence, a mystery that eludes science, just as the creative genius of the artist eludes artistic or literary criticism, no matter how thorough-going it may be in providing the canons according to which the work of creation has been accomplished. And so it is in religion. The religious life is essentially personal faith. And this is what needs revitalization in the Jew and in the modern world.

We must ask ourselves, whither we are tending. We must make up our mind that we are to live in the Western world permanently. Now, Reform Judaism has done wonderful work. It was won all along the line. Life has helped it. The most theoretical, uncompromising Orthodoxy has been, in spite of itself, influenced by the life of the Western environment and has been compelled to reform. But no angel, or messenger, as is well known, according to the Talmud, can perform two missions. The time of adjustment, of break with tradition, of rationalism, of critical investigation of the past, and of necessary undermining of authority, is not propitious to building up deep, strong, enthusiastic faith. We will have to become wise and understand that the emancipation movement for the Jew, was not the Messiah, no more than is the revived Nationalism which, as Dr. Kohler well points out, may be considered as a spiritual reaction against it, the realization of the messianic goal. We need today a higher synthesis. It is good for us to emphasize that Nationalism is not what Judaism means. But on the other hand, we cannot content ourselves with complacent glorification of our

achievements. We need a reconsecration of the Jew to religion. Through the emancipation, the Jew gained in freedom, in science and material comfort, but to a great extent, lost in spirituality. We are in danger of becoming a despiritualized and therefore, demoralized racial element in the Western World. There is too much racialism in modern Jewry, whether we consider the extreme right or the extreme left. For we must recognize that we have racialists of the left, who wish to see Judaism as a religion, that is, as a system of life, expressing man's relation to God, destroyed. Certainly, they are absolutely indifferent to it. It does not concern us, just now, to make clear to them their own perplexities and contradictions. When men consider themselves Jews, and yet have nothing to do with the God of Israel, and, at the same time, are very jealous about emphasizing their refusal to talk of Jewish nationality or Jewish race within American life, we must simply tell them that the only thing that exists in them, is really the shreds and patches of an utterly unconsecrated racialism. These types I call the racialists of the left. And, of course, the secular Nationalists among the Jews, who are so thoroughly assimilated to Western thought, and the newest thought at that, of the predominant racialism and Nationalism, which have held sway in the Western World, that they would make in Palestine something new—a Jewish secular nation—we call them the racialists of the right. The mission of Israel is simple—always to witness to the religious idea. We did so in an idolatrous world, in antiquity. We are called upon to witness to it in our own time, which is a time travailing with a spiritual hunger. We are living in the world of Christendom, which is outgrowing its conception of the Divine. That makes the tragedy of the modern man. We need offer no apology for our idea, but we have much to apologize for ourselves. We have not risen to the possibilities that our history demands of us.

The reason that those who oppose Reform Judaism, poke fun at our claim that we have a mission, seems to me to consist in their conventional thinking. They assume that Judaism has triumphed in the world. They believe that everybody is monotheistic. They tell us that our work is done. I deny that

monotheism has conquered. I deny that the conception of humanity has conquered. I deny that the Jewish idea of a law, of a Torah in the heart of men, has conquered. If we do not think conventionally, if we are not misled by words and by platform phrases, we will see that there is much work to be done for the idea of Israel's God, who called Israel in righteousness to open blind eyes and to bring out of the prison-house, those who dwell in darkness. In the first place, we overestimate the modernity of the masses. We are inclined, limiting our view to the circles with which we come in contact, to overestimate the influence of liberalism in the world. On the other hand, we are apt to misinterpret the collapse of Christian dogma which, as we know, was the creation of Hellenistic metaphysics married to the chaos of beliefs and asceticisms and yearnings for saviors and salvation, which made up the religious brooding of the Mediterranean basin, when Christianity arose. The modern world is, indeed, shedding these dogmas. But it is quite a question whether it is not also seeking to break with the whole religious tradition that arose at Sinai and in Zion. In short, we think we have won, because Christendom, through its science and culture, has shattered the inherited creeds. We do not stop to realize that religion itself, with its essentials, is fighting for existence. And I say this, despite the fact that I am well aware that there is a spiritual revival. It is up to us to be the missionary for the religious idea in the world. We are not attracting very much attention to ourselves, because of our creative work in the religious field. If we were faithful to our mission, if we could convert our own geniuses, the best brains of the Jews would be dedicated to reconstructing the world spiritually. I know that theology is out of fashion. Nevertheless, theology only means clear thinking. It is the presentation of genuine religious experience in the form of concepts, in the form of a reflective philosophy. If our brainy Jews who do write, have nothing to say, like a Wells or a Bojer, about the religious problem, to speak only of popular novelists and not to think of technical philosophers or theologians, then it shows that they have no religious experience. And so Israel should seek to convert them. And if it would convert them, it would help to

convert the world religiously. There is positive work for the Jew to do, to vindicate the thought of ethical monotheism, as a view of life and a faith by which men are to live. Nor has the conception of a "humanity" triumphed. The conception of humanity is an expression of a genuine monotheism. Rampant racialism and Nationalism has, strictly speaking, not yet spiritually envisaged the truth of monotheism. The modern man has shown that he worships tribal deities. It would do him no harm to go back to the conceptions of the Hebrew Prophets who, in their revelation of the ethical God, transcended national and racial distinctions. Furthermore, the conception of a Torah, the Torah of the Prophets, and if you will, the spirit of the Mosaic Torah as governing life, and the spirit of a people "in whose hearts is My Torah," has not triumphed. There is much lawlessness in the world. There is much ruthless self-assertion of individual and class. The world needs the ideas for which Judaism stands. The world needs a this-worldly religion. It is our mission, to bring them to the world. We may, of course, run away from our mission. We may, of course, persist in our blindness. And we, the messenger of the mission, may be deaf. But the mission idea makes the *raison d'etre* of our existence and expresses an everlasting truth.

What the Reform synagog, in my opinion, needs in order to begin to convert Israel, and adequately perform its mission—for as Dr. Kohler well says, we should first put our own house in order and then proceed to do something for others—is a spiritual stock-taking. The masses of our people have, in life, acted according to emancipation. But they have not, as far as is evident, grasped positively the meaning of Judaism. If they had done so, they would have been ready to make greater sacrifices for their religion. They would have been more spiritual-minded. We need a new emphasis. I hold that all vital religion expresses itself, as the forces in our Scripture indicate, in four types: The type of the Priest, who represents the treasures of the past; the type of the Prophet, who announces the supreme ethical ideals and looks to the future for their realization; the type of the Mystic, who lives with God in the present; and the type of the Sage, who, in mellowed wisdom, reflects on the problems of

life and produces a philosophy which explains the teachings of Priest, Prophet and Mystic. Each one of these types is indispensable to a Church, to a religious organization, to a community that witnesses to God as does the *Keneseth Yisroel.* Every vital religion is historic religion. It is a tree of life with roots in the past. Otherwise, if it is so new as to want to have nothing to do with the past, it is not a tree, but a telegraph pole, which supports modern wires. Now, if we look at the present condition of the synagog, we will find that by the necessary reaction against an excessive ceremonialism and legalism, which the modern movement in Judaism, as stimulated by emancipation and modern thought has produced, we have one-sidedly emphasized the intellectual and ethical element in religion. We philosophized and ethicized. We have perhaps had more of the type of the prophet and of the sage. We threw into the background entirely the priestly function of conserving what is valuable in tradition; and with a very horror of mysticism, we have lost sight of the fact that religion in the present, always means the mystic feeling of realizing God's presence. We need, therefore, a revival of the religious sentiment as such. Of course, once given a warm and enthusiastic faith, it will, when guided by the categories of Jewish experience in the past, express itself rationally, lay the greatest stress on righteousness, which means the passion for justice in society and for loving kindness in personal relations. It will become a power of wisdom and goodness on this earth. But what we need is faith, piety. It does not do us any good merely to rail at the thousands of Jews who turn their back upon the wells of living waters, upon the God of their fathers and go to seek satisfaction for their emotions and mystic longings to wells which we hold contain no water, and change the living God for what we consider an idol, because it is, in the main, an untruth. But we must ask ourselves whether, through appealing to the intellect and to ethics, which are primarily concerned with the relations of man to man, we have not kept shut up our own wells of living waters? We must ask ourselves whether we have not, through this neglect, starved our people emotionally and spiritually? Every age has its own needs. There is no fear of the people

with whom we deal going back to Orthodoxy. They are only too much inclined to have nothing to do with tradition and with the literary treasures that tell the story of the growth and development of the Jewish spirit. Our work, therefore, must be to deepen our achievements in the Reform synagog; on the foundations laid down by Reform, to begin the work of a spiritual structure.

Knowledge alone, new methods in presenting our Bible and our history, will not do. Only religiosity and spiritual-mindedness, the possessing of the flame, can impart it to others. In the last analysis, the literary record, with which we work, is the frozen fire. We need the fire of our own living faith. And this leads me to say that I agree, in the main, with Dr. Kohler's argument that service, service to humanity, is one part of our mission, and that I have no sympathy at all with those who think that because Jewish brains go to serve modern science, art, statemanship, leadership in commerce and finance and labor and social reform and advocacy of social justice, they are necessarily lost to us and we get no credit for them. Not at all. They are doing good Jewish work. Only their work must be consecrated with the God-consciousness. But I must insist that social service cannot be the last word of religion. If happiness is not my personal object, it cannot be my object for others. And if it is for others, it includes me. Social service is the fine fruitage of the religious sentiment, but it is not identical with it. A righteousness without God is self-righteousness, and is just as ethically imperfect and eventually disintegrating, as is a God-consciousness without righteousness, which is self-seeking and tends to degenerate into formalism and superstition, and may become morally dangerous. We need the re-emphasis, on the basis of a living faith, of life, according to a law of right and duty. We must go back to the conception of a Torah, as a government of life, already adumbrated by Dr. Kohler, when he says, "At all events, the spirit of the Priestly laws, expressive of Israel's sanctity, should be maintained, to render him the model and exemplar of holiness." Spirit alone will not do. Spirit has to find some form of expression—either a wise re-adaptation of the old, or a creation of some new form.

Certainly, the masses of our people are not types and exemplars of holiness. We therefore must recognize that it will not do to stress only the prophetic element in modern Judaism. But we must also evaluate the priestly, as well as the mystic elements. A sentimental humanitarianism is not the teaching of Judaism. Judaism, as I understand it, teaches a law for the government of life, a law of "thou shalt" and "thou shalt not," which is the particular expression, according to time and place, of the pure ethical ideal of the prophet. A sentimental humanitarianism may end in anti-nomianism, in unbridled individualism and in class-bolshevism. The modern Jew and the modern man must learn again that there is such a thing as a "thou shalt" and "thou shalt not," governing his daily life, which commandments and inhibitions are the expressions of the prophetical ideals of justice and love.

Lastly, I would say, that, to me, whatever is done in Palestine is purely incidental. My contention has always been that Israel is greater than Palestine. I have no objection to Jews going to Palestine and living there. And when they find themselves there, they will develop according to the conditions and opportunities offered there. I am not inclined to overestimate the value of a so-called cultural centre there. All I am interested in is the welfare of my Jewish brethren. If some of them can live happier there, I feel it my duty to help them to get there. But not to expose myself to any misunderstanding, I must say that Palestine cannot be a centre for Israel to-day, because Israel is destined to remain scattered in the world. And I cannot subscribe to the thesis that Israel needs or will be benefited by a so-called home-land. What Israel needs is, *perfect freedom* all over the world, *to be itself*. Israel's mission is to witness to God all over the world. Its *centre,* it carries with itself wherever it goes. That centre is its Bible, and the great spiritual development as recorded in its literature, which flowed from the Divine sources in the Bible. Our mission is to be the living witness to God and the spiritual power in the life of the nations. We will witness in martyrdom for a long time, whatever form the martyrdom takes, because martyrdom is an inevitable concomitant of minority. But we come from ancestors

who were not afraid to be martyrs for the God of Israel. And we, too, while fighting for our rights, must not think so much of what is due to us, as we ought to think of what is due from us. It is not good for a people or an individual to be absorbed in rights to the neglect of duties. We should begin heart-searching. We should begin rebuilding, and we should begin spiritual deepening in our own household. Doing our duty, we will be fulfilling our mission. Our duty is to witness to the true religion for the sake of humanity.

Once more, I say, it has been a delight for me to read this paper of Dr. Kohler, to express publicly my obligation to him. I will close with the quotation from the master, whose memory we are all celebrating with affection and reverence. I will, as bearing on the whole question of mission, recall what Isaac M. Wise said in Montreal when the Nationalistic movement in Israel first arose, he thought it was an attempt "to turn the mission of Israel from the province of religion and humanity to the narrow political and national field, where Judaism loses its universal and sanctified ground and its historical significance."

Rabbi Max Heller—I shall not discuss the length and breadth of Rabbi Morgenstern's paper, the earnestness of which everyone must grant and I admit there is much that is distinctly stimulating. Of course I differ with many of the positions taken. I believe I could point out some things which are historic inaccuracies. The distinction which is made between German immigration and Russian immigration I shall not dwell upon.

First of all, I think we should be a little more temperate about bending our knee before America. I am willing to make sacrifices as well as anyone in the interest and spirit of our country; and those Zionists that form most of our Jewish contingent in America also understand and pay homage to Americanism. But it seems to me that this everlasting bending of the knee before Americanism—this exalting it as the ideal of perfection and above all other national loyalties is, to say the least, not in good taste.

The statement made by the author of the paper, according to which the Zionism of the Russian Jew is due to his position in

Russia, is a shallow view. He dwells on the evil rather than the good. He will not recognize that there is in Zionism a vision and enthusiasm; that there is in Zionism vital red blood. It is shallow psychology to say that Zionism is rooted in failure and that the reverse is a sense of power. There are a great many failures about reform. The paper itself said that American reform, as it now is, deserves to die—cannot live. It must be Americanized in any entirely different sense. It is this sense of failure that Zionism has.

I wish to touch on the use of the word assimilation as used by the two writers. The word assimilation has two meanings, active and passive. We do not want to be assimilated passively. We want to be assimilated actively. We want to give to others the benefit of our Jewish culture—we want to create a Jewish culture. It is shallow to say that all we have lost is orientalism. We have lost more—we have lost our Sabbath and our Jewish feeling towards the Sabbath. I—a child of the ghetto—who have seen a ghetto Sabbath, who knows what it means spiritually, that it supplies something solid and Jewish—it is because I want to live where I can have a Sabbath that I want to go to Palestine. The person who wants Zionism for the other fellow is insincere. I may say that in my advanced years I have nothing to offer Palestine at this time and may not go in the end but that will not make me less sincere.

Rabbi Neumark—I was much interested in the paper of Rabbi Morgenstern. He stated much of real significance. But his program was too large. We do not need so large a program. His diagnosis was good when he stated that what we needed was to create a personal relationship between God and the individual. Our religion is too national. We are always speaking about the people and the relation of the people to God and we neglect the individual. What we as rabbis should do is to bring home to the people definite ideas about religious questions and problems which every individual has to face.

The individual knows about God, but not enough to make him really interested so that he would be a religious and enthusiastic Jew. Why do people not come to Temple? Because

they have not had impressed upon them *why* they should. If a man believes in the need of his soul, he will come to Temple, and you do not need an institutional temple to attract him. Let us teach people what God is. It is not true that they know. I doubt if some rabbis would be able to explain just what they mean when they speak about God and immortality and freedom of will. And then when he has learned these things he must learn how to adjust himself to modern things—to make his religion answer for him the problems which the thinkers of all ages have been trying to solve. We need books and tracts and preaching on the subject. Then we will get some idea of a universal Judaism since, after all, it is a matter of essentials. The paper stated that we must remove the alien elements from Judaism—that we must produce an American Judaism. We cannot remove the alien from American Judaism. Every Jew who comes, be it from Russia or Poland or elsewhere, brings something necessary to our Judaism. And yet his Judaism is not different from ours in essentials.

Rabbi Philipson—The last speaker intimated that American Judaism is not of a distinct kind. I think that Isaac M. Wise had a distinct idea in mind when he spoke of American Judaism. He felt this free atmosphere of America gave Judaism peculiar opportunity to develop along certain lines which had not been developed in other countries. We know Palestinian Judaism and American Judaism have come to have distinct meanings. If there is such a thing as an American Orthodox Judaism as was mentioned, then it means that even this orthodoxy has cast off its European colorings and has preached near-reform. My belief is that Orthodox Judaism in America will eventually become American Reform Judaism. America fights on the side of progress and reform, and American Judaism will always fight on that side.

Rabbi Kaplan—I am interested in both reform Judaism and in Zionism. I shall leave whatever fortune I may have half to this institution and half to my great ideal—a Jewish home-land. The paper has presented something definite. It has dared to

look at the problem of reform Judaism clearly and distinctly. The Sabbath question, for instance, is a Jewish question. I have asked my people to look the question squarely in the face and demanded that they answer it not hypocritically, but actually. It is not my business to show ways and means, but to demand that they keep the Sabbath. What stand do we take here on the Sabbath? We must do something definite, something Jewish, something American. Let us stop talking about Zionism and leave that to the men who feel they want to devote their energies to realizing an ideal and let us with proper enthusiasm make reform Judaism something worth while for the house of Israel.

Rabbi A. G. Moses—I rarely enjoyed a treat such as I had this morning in listening to the paper, The Mission of Israel. I believe as an historical development of the mission idea in Israel, Dr. Kohler's paper will rank as immortal in the days to come. But in all the papers I missed something as to the pragmatic side of the subject. My father, who stood with Isaac M. Wise in the working out of his life's dream, detached the messianic idea from the historic side and followed it as a pragmatic question. He believed the philosophy of Judaism based upon its past was capable and should be unfolded to the gentile world. He died disillusioned. But I believe the methods of the churches are worthy of copy and emulation. Let us not waste our efforts on discussion only. Let us try to do something definite, something that will stimulate thought—something that will bring results. The disciples of Dr. Kohler and the spiritual sons of Dr. Wise are not satisfied with words, they want these dynamics put into the spirit of Judaism.

Rabbi Goldenson—In the paper of Rabbi Morgenstern I felt that he used the adjectives German and American Judaism in two different senses. When he spoke of German Judaism, he meant Judaism as developed by the Jews of Germany. When he spoke of American Judaism he meant quite a different thing. American Judaism can mean three different things. It can mean Judaism as developed by the Jews of America; it can mean Judaism as developed in response to conditions in America

and it can mean Judaism as developed in response to Americanization as a type of idealism. There was, so far as I know, no German Judaism in response to a conception of germanism. We are happy to say that never did the German Jew feel that he need recreate his Judaism so that it would square with certain conceptions of German life. This gives us an opportunity to differentiate between German Judaism and the other so-called national forms of Judaism.

Rabbi Cohon—I feel that Rabbi Philipson failed to get one word used by Rabbi Neumark, and that was when he said that in its *essentials* American Judaism does not differ from the Judaism of the rest of the world. Perhaps our American spirit may need something of the stimulus of Judaism as much as Judaism may need certain things gained from American life. Rabbi Schulman drew a comparison between a living tree and a telegraph pole. If Judaism is a living tree it does not matter where it is. Environment counts to a certain degree, but it does not condition the fruit. There is a future for the Jew in America as well as in Palestine. In America Judaism has not spelled failure. Democracy must be applied to religion in America. Dr. Wise applied and completely emancipated woman in the synagog. We need more of that spirit of democracy, and if we realize our duty in this spirit and apply it, we have a future.

Rabbi Newfield—I want to remark to the last speaker that a fruit tree will not produce the same fruit in every clime and place. Environment has much to do not only with the fruit, but with the idea as touched upon. I want to protest against the statement of a previous speaker that we stress too much the idea of Americanism. We cannot lay too much stress on this idea. To me Americanism and Judaism are synonymous terms. I find in them the same high ideal and life purpose; one leading to God and the other to a righteous self-sustaining, free government. We teachers must find in Judaism everything that will strengthen our national life. I believe in Judaism and I think the principles which it teaches are such that it can become universal. I believe in Americanism because I find therein

also the principles which are destined to become universal. By a union of the two I believe the whole world can be made over and justice and liberty brought to all peoples. I interpret Americanism along the lines of the ancient idea of the Jewish God as to ethics and righteousness. To me Judaism is universal and can be developed more fully in America because it is free.

Rabbi Clifton H. Levy—It is difficult to define American Judaism because it did not start either with Wise or with Einhorn. Judaism developed here not because of these leaders, but because here was a soil on which it could develop. In this country and in this environment we are getting a final growth and a perfect development—something which hitherto had been impossible. American Judaism is not an objective thing. It cannot be studied in books, it must be grown up to, lived up to, experienced. This is the reason that a great number of the immigrants have not been able to understand the preachings or enter into the spirit of American Judaism. Their minds have grown up in another environment. You may transplant the grape, but you cannot always adapt it, and often it will be an entirely different fruit. We make the mistake and think we can write about it and describe it. We cannot. It has to be lived. We can give it to our people, but I doubt if it would grow anywhere else.

Rabbi Simon—I believe if Isaac M. Wise were alive today he would make the mission idea the dynamic force in Israel. In much of our talk we confuse the mission idea with the messianic. The mission idea, born in the soul of Abraham, developed as part of the character of Judaism—never anything else. The messianic idea is temporal, growing historically, taking on the nature and characteristics of each country. I am coming to feel that the Zionist movement is simply another adventitious movement detached from the so-called mission idea. Our program in America is twofold—to make the mission idea a fundamental part of American Judaism and to take the mission idea and democratize it.

Rabbi Morgenstern—I regret exceedingly that Rabbi Kohler

could not be here to sum up his paper, as he undoubtedly would have been anxious to do. Personally, I feel that out of this discussion and exchange of opinion something constructive may eventually come and that is primarily all that I had in view. I had no intention of solving the problem of Judaism in America or of evolving a final or perfect program. My sole ambition was to face the question frankly and squarely so that from this beginning something definite, something positive, may grow.

The main objection that has been voiced has been about the term American Judaism and the emphasis laid on Americanism. Let us face the situation. If you see a negro, you do not say this is a black man. If you meet a white man, you do not say this is a white man. But when you meet one whose color is dubious, you say this is a mulatto. We are somewhat in the same position. In the past we spoke of reform and orthodox Judaism and the terms were appropriate. The conflict was between those two things—reform and orthodoxy. But we have reached the beginning of a time when the terms will no longer be needed—we have passed beyond that stage and we speak merely of Judaism. But there is still a conflict between the form Judaism has taken in this country and takes in other countries. Judaism has its fundamentals in America which are the same as in every other country. I took it for granted that we would agree on the universal and eternal elements. I did not use the term American Judaism to distinguish a particular phase of Judaism, but to distinguish the particular things which make Judaism have a different color and aspect in America than in other countries. In that sense and not to emphasize the element of Americanism did I use the term.

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RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AND THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN JUDAISM

DAVID LEFKOWITZ

The theme that has been assigned for consideration at this time precludes by its very wording a technical, detailed study, largely of pedagogic formulae, such as has been frequently presented before this body. It demands that we rise out of the necessary preliminary treatment of the Jewish educational problem to a larger outlook of the subject, so that we might at a later date return to a study of the details with greater freshness and a truer orientation. For it suggests that the Jewish teacher's problem is not small nor only for the present day, but bound up rather with the greatest element of our Jewish hope, the future of American Judaism. And with the spirit of the pre-eminent teacher, Isaac M. Wise, hovering over this conference it is proper that we give the highest and noblest treatment to the subject that was closest to his heart and that we contemplate it from the lofty vantage ground from which he ever viewed it, its relation to the future of American Judaism.

The form in which the subject has been cast suggests a vital nexus between Religious education and the Future of American Judaism. It is in no way exaggeration to say that the future of Judaism depends entirely upon the kind of religious education the present generation receives. The apathy that is so perceptible in the religious life of American Judaism of today is wholly due, it would seem, to the reduction of the life-giving stream of Jewish knowledge and culture to its shallowest. We have resorted to the dangerous procedure of tying up the very artery of Jewish inspiration. What the former generations of

our people have received of Jewish knowledge every hour of their waking time through the Jewish atmosphere and talk and observance of the Jewish home, what they imbibed through the conscious daily study in the daily religious school, has been substituted in this generation by an attenuated course of religious instruction a few hours a week up to the period of Confirmation. Religious education which was the very fabric of the Jewish life in the olden days has been reduced almost to the vanishing point in the life of the average American Jewish child. And that at a time when the home life was losing all power to teach by example. Is not this the true diagnosis of the apathy in the Jewish life of the present day in America, of that slow response to religious appeals which the young man and woman among us now give? It all comes back to the meagreness of the religious education in the past fifteen or twenty years at least. And dark, indeed, will be the future of American Judaism if we continue thus stintingly to nourish the soul of the Jewish people. The *Beth Hammidrash* must again come to be what it was in the olden day so that the future of American Judaism might be a prospect fair and hopeful.

But if that future is so completely dependent upon the present religious education we must determine what we desire that future to be before we can decide what the education that so fully shapes it is to consist of and what its character is to be. We must have a very clear idea what kind of an American Judaism we want to develop, before we contrive the machinery that will bring it about. It is very certain that we do not want that American Jewish life of the future to be like the present, drifting in an undefined course, knowing neither direction or goal, with the great mass ignorant of the past and therefore without its inspiration and guidance; left to the mercy of every wind of materialism to drive it out of that course of idealism which Judaism has chartered throughout the ages past; a Jewish life, empty, expressionless, almost inarticulate. Nor, of course, do we want the future American Judaism to take the course that one section of our people has already taken in a frankly assimilationist direction, seeking as far as possible to remove all traces of our eastern origin and aiming to make of

the ancient faith a vague Unitarianism, or a still more indistinct Ethical Culture. And there is no question but that we do not desire that here in America our Judaism shall again curl back into its shell and, in its love for the old merely because it is hoary, treasure the stains in the picture of Jewish life as much as the noble conception and artistic execution and so carry into a new day and with deep veneration the excrescences which were in the ghetto days protective in their nature against the dangers that then faced them, but which now are only ugly and useless. Surely we want the future American Judaism to conform more and more to the dream of Isaac Mayer Wise, a Judaism liberal yet distinctive, modern yet founded on the ancient rock of the Jewish law and lore, an American Judaism that does not lose its Judaic flavor in the American atmosphere, but the better retains its beauty by stripping from its age-grown branches the broken twigs that weigh it down and so give room and sunlight for the flowering forth of the blossoms of the universal elements in the ancient faith to thrive in this free American environment. He dreamed of an American Judaism quick with the spirit of the modern time, answering every moral and inspirational need of the present day, beautified and directed by the lamp of Jewish scholarship and moved to noblest endeavors by the urge of the old prophetic spirit, a Judaism neither shallow nor superficial with a lack of deep-seated convictions, but sturdy and strong to give its characteristic impetus to the new social developments and wise and true and purified to make its further contribution to the spiritual life of humanity; in short, an American Judaism that shall at the same time be worthy both of America and Judaism. It should take on the glories of the old Judaism in Babylonia with its cohorts of great scholars and teachers and with its great academies nourishing the rank and file of Israel; of Egyptian Judaism with its Philos conversant not only with their own literature, but with all the science and philosophy of their time, training its Saadias not only to erudition in the Law, but also to an enthusiasm, that obtained for him a call from a far country, for bringing the great draught that he dipped from the past in such manner to the lips of the people that they were spiritually refreshed; of Spanish Judaism with its Maimonides,

its Ibn Gabirols and Halevis attuning Judaism to the regnant philosophy and defending it when harmonization was impossible, and above all with its whole congregation of Israel so led by its great men that Judaism was to them lovely and living, dear enough to sacrifice their life for it, attractive enough to abide by all their days. These ancient glories shall be the glories of American Judaism, dreamed Isaac Mayer Wise, coupled with something new—the assurance that we will not be thus developing Judaism as in the *Goluth,* without hope of touching even the circumference of the general life of the country, be it Babylonia, Egypt or Spain, but that we are part of this beating, throbbing life of the great republic and are giving our religious and social and spiritual contribution to our country. This was Isaac Mayer Wise's noble dream of the future of American Judaism.

We cannot have that kind of American Judaism by just wishing for it; we must work for it, preparing the soil, planting the seed and plucking out the weeds. Then if we work and pray in due course the bud will open and the full glory of the flower of American Judaism will come into view. At this time as at no other in Jewish history we have but one single factor upon which to count in this process of preparation. We cannot depend upon the Jewish home, speaking generally, either to suggest or to teach what we feel the new generation must know of Judaism; we cannot depend upon the unconscious yet so powerful influence of a Jewish environment, a Jewish ghetto-life, to transmit either a Jewish outlook, tradition or inspiration. There is but one agent at this time which is at our hand and that is the conscious religious instruction in schools and classes, in the pulpit and the study.

Religious instruction, then, is vital for the building up of the future of American Judaism, and largely now as of old the children, *Bonim* are the builders, (בונים). Religious education, therefore, must be far more earnestly pursued than it has been during the last thirty years. More time, more thought, more study must be given to it, its structure must be reared on larger and more ambitious foundations and more intense effort must be spent on it. It cannot remain the rather neglected, minor,

subsidiary, dilletante affair it now is and hope to get more than a very dim and distorted replica of the American Judaism that we sketched above.

We must, at the outset, get away from the misconception of these latter days that Jewish religious instruction is only for the young, that it is preliminary to the Confirmation and ends there. We must get back and get our people back to the old and true conception of Jewish study as being part of the intellectual and spiritual nourishment of all Israel, child and youth, man and woman. We must revise our programs of study so that courses shall be provided not only for the children through the period of Confirmation age, but also for those of high school age, and then men's classes, women's circles, Bible study courses that shall provide opportunities of knowledge of our Jewish heritage to all ages. It is true that high school departments have been inaugurated in the few communities and adult classes in a few more, but these are like oases in a desert and attendance in the adult classes especially is not so large as to be very hopeful. We must make Israel the *People of the Book* and restore religious education to the high place where it will command the attention not only of the Jewish child, but of youth and adult as well. We must make no half-hearted, but a serious attempt at bringing all Israel back to its spiritual treasure-house.

To make the subjects fit the ages of the scholars, we must carefully diversify our treatment of each. The same subject can be taught to a kindergarten class and to adults, but the treatment must be different. The creation story must be made a story of Light and Joy to the six-year-old child, while the same story to the adult must be either a lesson in comparative religion or of idealism against materialism. Of course, Jewish history must be taught and in no lop-sided fashion; the minutiae of Bible history must not be so mulled over that the history of the 2,000 years following is given scant attention and hasty treatment. But the most important change that must take place in our religious teaching is the *spirit* in which Jewish history shall be taught, not as a series of dates and events in the dim past, but as sublimated experience which acted upon by the

teacher's peculiar power becomes a light on our present path and a solvent for our modern problems. It is so to be taught that its dry bones will be made to live and move, through the spirit of life that the teacher breathes into it. Never is it to be taught without reference to the present. At every step opportunities will offer themselves to discuss the problems and perplexities of modern Israel and the opportunity should never be allowed to pass by. Such a treatment of the Jewish historical studies will keep us from becoming like unto Lot's wife, turned to a pillar of salt because she ever looked backward. It will make the history hour a living, breathing period, for it will be in constant touch with the pulsating present; and it will give the stabilizing force, so necessary in American Judaism, through the habit thus developed of turning to the past experiences of Israel in considering any step contemplated for Israel in the present. It need hardly be stated that the history hour is the time when a real glowing enthusiasm for our people and its mission should be the natural outcome of the lesson.

But Jewish history should never be taught without bringing in close connection with it Jewish literature. Israel being the People of the Book, its history is in many respects a book history and the book should never be far from the hand when history is being studied. In the Bible history the words of the Bible itself should be used as much as possible, the Psalms should become a very real possession of Israel's youth by memory studies. and the words of the prophets should surely be read to bring clearly before the pupil not only the teachings of those seers, but the enthusiasm and conviction of their utterance. It may be that the Psalms should be taught in connection with special studies in ethics, though a course in ethics apart and by itself should not for a moment be thought of in a children's school. In a history lesson the ethical thought of purity of mind may stand out prominently; then is the time to turn to a Psalm like the 24th, "He that hath clean hands and a pure heart", and so the entire Psalm may come under the attention and study of the class. So could many of the Midrashim be introduced as part of the class work in connection with some historical reference. For the classes beyond confirmation and

especially adult classes special courses in Jewish literature should of course find their place.

The study of Hebrew has been sadly neglected in our courses of religious study. And having in mind now only the future of American Judaism, it seems that just a little thought would make clear the necessity for more intensive Hebrew study than we have contented ourselves with giving to our people these days. If we keep Hebrew prayers and responses in our services, however few they may be, we have of necessity it seems to teach the new generation sufficient Hebrew not only to read those prayers and responses, but also to comprehend their meaning. That such prayers and responses should be retained in our ritual is suggested not only because of the psychological effect produced by the use of the holy tongue, but urged also upon us by the consideration that it is one of the strong strands in the bond of united Israel. The text-books to bring within the bounds of possibility the teaching of Hebrew to the point at least of intelligent use of our ritual in the short sessions of the religious school have been prepared and their use demonstrated satisfactorily. All that is needed is a real desire on the part of the rabbi and teacher that the Hebrew be studied. After Confirmation, courses in advanced Hebrew might certainly be offered and the study encouraged in high school classes and adult classes as well. But there hardly seems the shadow of an argument in favor of making Hebrew an elective with children from six to fourteen, as is done in a number of schools. Six years of compulsory study of Hebrew, even in the short sessions once a week, will at least bring the child an understanding of the Hebrew prayers of the ritual.

Nor must Jewish song be neglected in the curriculum of the religious school period. The old time Jewish home rang with songs of praise to God on the Sabbath and the holidays and the holy days. Each occasion and festival had its distinctive song. And it was the *Z*^{e}*mirot* that added a touch of happiest glow to the life of the Jew, so frequently darkened by the hate outside. These songs became the vehicle of his most ardent love for and trust in God. Through them all his devotion to God was vocalized. They added poetry to even the most sordid life

and environment. They nourished the religious sentiments far more than direct exhortation. The American Jewish home is silent, no praise songs of *Hallel* ring throughout the rooms on the holidays, no bridal song greets the Sabbath's advent. The child can bring that blessing of song back to its parental roof, as it has brought other benedictions. And our congregations in public worship have in great measure become spectators, an audience, not an assembly of worshipers. The people miss the best that the house of God can give them, when they are passive. The future American Judaism must be reverent, prayerful and praiseful. Congregational singing will help to bring that about more than any other one thing. And it has been found very difficult to bring the congregation into active participation in the service, especially in joining in congregational singing. Unfamiliarity with the songs is partially responsible, but self-consciousness is most to blame. Both of these drawbacks to congregational participation in the service will be removed by paying special attention to the study of Jewish songs in the religious school.

This can be done in connection with a religious service without which no religious school session should begin or close. But the service must be for its own sake, too. It should put its stamp upon the school, its character of consecration, its humility before God, its reverence for holy things. The service should be filled with just that spirit, it should be short though unhurried, speaking the child's prayer in the child's language. It should be far more song than spoken word, it should contain all the important rubrics of the public worship, the responses and general character and form, so that the child will not find a violent change in passing from the children's service to the adult's.

Let us realize once for all that a curriculum such as has been suggested cannot be taken care of successfully in the hour and a half once a week which is all that most religious schools offer. If we are going to make our religious training take on a more serious purpose and have it bring about more than trifling results we must be convinced that the short session of one day a week must be supplemented by further sessions some time throughout

the week. On Sabbath morning an hour before the service from 9 to 10 or even to 10:30 can be utilized for a religious session. That would immediately increase the time now generally given by a hundred percent, and would not be difficult to arrange. A mid-week session presents more difficulties, but the *Talmud Torahs* with their thousands of children have been able to overcome them. We might, too, if we were earnest about the matter. Of course the greatest difficulty is in the attitude of the parents whom we have habituated to think lightly of religious education. They do not complain when the child is kept out of the air in the dancing school after 4 o'clock or at its music lesson, but when a mid-week session is broached for the religious instruction of the child the fear of lack of play is immediately voiced. The child certainly ought to have time for play, and we may come to an arrangement in the public school system in which a mid-week session could be had in school time and the play time of the child remain uncurtailed. But in the meantime something must be done, and done quickly, that the spirit of our religion may be kept alive. It is in our power, if we earnestly set the matter before the parents, to increase the present single short session to three sessions, trebling the time we now give. And it can and should be done now without waiting for possible relief through public school arrangement in some distant future. To effect such changes requires a burning enthusiasm and an unbending devotion to the Jewish cause.

Not much need now be said about the place in which the religious instruction is to be given, for most congregations now realize that adequate arrangements must be made for the school. But attention has not been generally directed toward proper equipment and paraphernalia for the school. We have depended too much on words and too little on symbols which work their influence in undreamed of ways upon the pupil who unconsciously drinks in the story they have to tell. The reference is to properly selected pictures on the walls, to mottoes and quotations on the blackboard, to maps and drawings, etc., to books on many subjects related to the studies of the class in the school library, to the school paper, to the school play, to the simple little class dramatic expression of the story under study.

But above all the problem of the religious school is the problem of teachers. We may have a fine curriculum and sufficient time and sessions to impart the knowledge of that curriculum, we may have a fine school physically and splendid equipment, but if we have not the teachers the soul of the school is not there. Of course trained teachers are needed in the religious school even more than in the public school, although the training in some respects is in a different direction. We suffer from a dearth of religious teachers of the trained sort. Two teachers' colleges in connection with our theological seminaries are training teachers, but we know that they supply almost wholly only a local need. The Jewish Chautauqua has a helpful course that can be taken by correspondence; it seems to me that to the hundred smaller communities this course offers the best solution to the problem of the teacher and deserves much larger encouragement at the hand of the rabbis than they have thus far given it. In connection therewith a normal course should be offered in every community for the training of the religious-school teacher. Then will even the short time spent in the religious school not be wasted or utterly misspent by false or inadequate instruction. The teacher is the crux of our religious school problem, teachers for the children and the proper leaders for the adult classes. That and the time element are the things to which we should give our attention as never before.

The future of American Judaism is wrapped up in the religious instruction of the present generation. By the careful and conscious planning and by seriously setting ourselves to work out the resulting program there will rise in this blessed land an American Judaism such as Isaac M. Wise dreamed of, such as he consciously planned for, American, modern, with no contradictions tearing apart faith and life, a throbbing, pulsating force that shall be the old Judaic prophetic spirit, again vocal and vital for the same ideals, and able to create and inaugurate new movements on this soil that shall lead man nearer to his God.

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THE JEWISH CONCEPTION OF JUSTICE

MAX REICHLER

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INTRODUCTION

About a year ago a very prominent minister of the Gospel, Rev. Dr. Charles A. Eaton, pastor of the Madison Avenue Baptist Church of New York City, speaking at one of the submarine corporation yards to a large number of foremen, warned them against pro-Germans, who "in a hundred ways might attempt to impede the work". "When you find such a man", he said, "don't wait; don't say to him, 'Come, let us talk this over'; don't ask him to have tea; knock his block. And when he comes sneaking around with a bomb, don't say, 'Let us pray', but take him out there on the marsh, and tie him down, and place the bomb on his chest. Light it, and stand off, and watch him blow to his Kaiser—to hell".[1] These are powerful words of an in-

[1] *New York Times*, Feb. 14, 1918.

dignant human being, but they hardly accord with the well-known and well-advertised teachings of the Christian Church: "Ye have heard it hath been said, 'An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth', but I say unto you that ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will . . . take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain. . . . Ye have heard that it hath been said ,'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself and hate thine enemy',[2] but I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them who despitefully use you and persecute you; that ye may be children of your Father, which is in heaven; for He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good; and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust".[3]

I. CHRISTIANS SEE LIGHT

This distinction between the Jewish conception of retaliatory justice and law and the Christian conception of love and mercy and non-resistance to evil has ever been proudly emphasized by the Church. Yet in these days of storm and stress, in these days of clashes of arms and conflicts of ideas, many of the leaders and dignitaries of the Church seem to have been converted to the Jewish ideal of social ethics. The chaplain of Columbia College pleads against "softness" in dealing out justice to Germany.[4] The Archbishop of Canterbury scouts the suggestion of Professor Deissman for "the mutual forgiveness and conciliation among Christian circles of all belligerent nations", and insists that "righteousness must be vindicated, even though the vindication involves sternness".[5] And now comes Pope Benedict

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[2] Dr. G. Deutsch points out (in the *H. U. C. Monthly*, December, 1916) that there is no such passage in the whole Jewish Bible, or, for that matter in the Talmud, which recommends anything like the words quoted.

[3] Matt. V, 38-45. Cf. *Nedarim* 39b.

[4] *Literary Digest*, New York, Nov. 30, 1918.

[5] *Ibid.*, Jan. 4, 1919, p. 31.

with an Encyclical Letter (dated December, 1918), in which the Catholic Episcopate throughout the world is urged to pray for "a true peace, founded upon the *Christian principle of justice.*"[6]

Thus justice, yea, stern justice, has become a Christian principle by adoption, for which we Jews are indeed thankful. Some good Christians even dare to go one step further, and speak approvingly of the high and holy hate of the Psalmist, who exclaimed: "Ye that love the Lord, hate evil".[7] Says one Christian minister: "With so much evil existing publicly, unblushing, tolerated, even protected, all I have to say concerning those unchristian invectives (of the imprecatory Psalms) is, that I devoutly wish we had more men to-day with red corpuscles in their blood, who would grow angry just that way against sin, and stay angry long enough".[8] Some of us have also enjoyed the spectacle of a large number of Anglican Bishops favoring the revival of the so-called "unchristian" stanza in the British National anthem, which reads:

"O Lord our God, arise,
"Scatter his enemies,
"And make them fall;
"Confound their politics,
"Frustrate their knavish tricks", etc.[9]

One of the prayers in "The War and Life", a book of meditation written by a Catholic, reads as follows: "My God, when I think of the enemies of my country, I am possessed by a feeling of the deepest hate. . . . My God, how can it be Thy will that I . . . shall not hate these infamous people with all my heart?"[10] "The Church has erred", says the editor of the St. Louis Republic, "in preaching submission rather than teaching equality, liberty and fraternity".[11] And a contributor of the

[6] *New York Times*, Dec. 7, 1918, p. 5.
[7] Ps. XCVII, 10.
[8] See *Homiletic Review*, N. Y., Feb. 9, 1918, p. 147.
[9] *Literary Digest*, N. Y., Oct. 16, 1915.
[10] *Ibid.*, Dec. 4, 1915.
[11] *Ibid.*, Feb. 22, 1919, p. 36.

Outlook pertinently asks: "Can the father of three sons who are about to encounter these . . . brutes, limit himself to . . . milk-and-water emotion? Is it his Christian duty to love his enemies to so heroic a degree? Was it irreligious in David to pray God to destroy their joint enemies? It is still our partial comfort to recite one of the imprecatory Psalms. They possess some of the safety-valve quality of words commencing with aspirate or dental."[12] A similar appreciation of the imprecatory Psalms comes from Gerald Stanley Lee, the author of *Crowds,* who makes the following confession: "There was a poet and a soldier some thousands of years ago who put more real religion (and put it, too, into his imprecatory Psalms) than has been put, I believe, into all the sweet whinings and spiritual droopings of the world in three thousand years. I do not deny that I would quarrel, as a matter of form, with the lack of urbanity, with a certain ill nature in the imprecatory Psalms, but with the spirit in them, with the motive and mighty desire, with the necessity in the man's heart that was poured into them, I have the profoundest sympathy". Lyman Abbott, the preacher-editor, apologetically argues thus: "Does not the Bible declare that God is Love? Yes. It also declares that 'He abhors the bloody and deceitful man'. Love and hate are not inconsistent. As the more one loves music, the more abhorrent to him are the 'crude colors which swear at each other' . . . so the more he loves his fellowmen, the more he hates robbery and oppression".[13]

II. A God of Justice

Thus after two thousand years of experimentation with a sweet and sentimental God, modern Christian thinkers revert to the old prophetic notion of a God of justice,[14] who loves justice and hates iniquity,[15] who judges the world with righteousness and peoples with equity,[16] who has no regard for persons . . .

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[12] Article War and Hate, *The Outlook,* N. Y., Dec. 19, 1917.
[13] *Ibid.,* April 15, 1918.
[14] Ps. IV, 2. Cf. Jer. XXIII, 6.
[15] Ps. XLV, 8; XI, 7; Is. LXI, 8; Cf. *Deb. Rab.* V, 6.
[16] Ps. XCVIII, 9.

who executes justice for the fatherless and the widow,[17] who condemns the wicked, to bring his way upon his own head; and justifies the righteous to give him according to his righteousness.[18] The Jew conceived God as צדיקו של עולם the very embodiment of the universal principle of justice.[19] Judge Wendell Phillips Stafford, of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, so forcefully expressed this truth by calling our attention to the fact that while "other peoples have pictured Justice as the angel standing beside the throne, waiting with the glittering unsheathed sword of vengeance, or holding before her blindfolded eyes the poised and pendant balance; the Jew went beyond all that. With the boldness of the seer, he cried, 'Justice and judgment are the foundation of Thy throne', as much as to say: God's very throne is built upon His justice, and if God Himself could fall away from justice, He would, in that same moment, fall away from power".[20] As the Zohar puts it: תוקפא דאתקיף קו״בה לאו איהי אלא במשפט. "The very power of the Holy One, blessed be He, is derived mainly from His love of justice".[21]

Yes, Israel conceived God as mighty and powerful,[22] or, to use the apparently disparaging terminology of H. G. Wells, Israel fancied the Deity as the Creator-God.[23] However, this Creator-God did not govern arbitrarily, this omnipotent King did not abuse His power, but rather used it to crush wickedness, to help the weak and oppressed, and to secure justice for the widow and the fatherless.[24] The Midrash tells us that when Abraham pleaded with God for the city of Sodom, he said: "Even though Thou art omnipotent, and no appeal from Thy decision is pos-

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[17] Deut. X, 17-18; II Chron. XIX, 17; cf. *Aboth* IV, 22.

[18] I Kings VIII, 32.

[19] *Ber. Rab.* XLIX, 18; *Yoma* 37a. Cf. Deut. I, 17; II Chron. XIX, 6.

[20] *American Israelite*, Cin., Feb. 12, 1914. Cf. Ps. LXXXIX, 15; XCVII, 2; IX, 8; *Midrash Gadol*, ch. XIII (*Ozar Midrashim*, ed. Eisenstein), N. Y., 1915, Vol. I, p. 80); *Deb. Rab.* V, 2.

[21] *Zohar Vayhi* (to Gen. XLVIII, 16), Wilna, 1894, Vol. I, p. 464. Cf. Ps. XCIX, 4; *Tanhuma Mishpatim*, ch. I.

[22] Deut. X, 17.

[23] See Preface to *"God—the Invisible King"*, H. G. Wells, 1917, pp. X and XV. Cf. Is. XLII, 5; XL, 12-15; XLV, 12, 18.

[24] Deut. X, 18; Is. LVII, 15.

sible, still Thou, as Supreme Judge of the world, must ever act justly",[25] so that "Thy holy name be not profaned".[26] And Rabbi Yose, the son of Nehorai, points out that throughout history, the Lord has always been on the side of the oppressed and persecuted.[27]

III. Power and Justice

Men of power and influence, therefore, are urged to imitate the ways of the King of kings, and to utilize their position and authority for the purpose of achieving justice among their fellowmen. For, as the Psalmist has it, the moral strength of a ruler lies in loving justice,[28] in judging the poor of the people, in crushing the oppressor and rescuing the children of the needy.[29] "By justice a king establisheth the land, but he that exacteth gifts, overthroweth it".[30] "He that faithfully judgeth the poor, his throne shall be established for ever".[31] "A wise king sifteth the wicked, and turneth the wheel over them".[32] "It is an abomination for the mighty to commit wickedness, for only by righteousness is a throne established".[33]

The rulers of Judah and Israel were continually admonished by the prophets not to use their power for selfish ends, not to eat "the fat, and clothe themselves with the wool of the sheep",[34] but rather "to strengthen the weak, to execute justice . . ., and deliver the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor".[35] "A king must reign in righteousness, and princes must rule in justice".[36] For on the final judgment day, God will hold the lead-

[25] *Ber. Rab.* XLIX, 19. Cf. *Tanhuma Mishpatim* I.

[26] *Yalkut* to Gen. XVIII, 25a.

[27] *Vayikra Rab.* XXVII, 5.

[28] Ps. XCIX, 4; XLIV, 8. Cf. *Ethics of O. T.*, H. G. Mitchell, Chicago, 1912, p. 394.

[29] Ps. LXXII, 4.

[30] Prov. XXIX, 4.

[31] Ibid., XVIII, 5.

[32] Ibid., XX, 26.

[33] Ibid., XVI, 12.

[34] Ez. XXXIV, 3. Cf. Is. I, 23; III, 14-15; V, 8.

[35] Jer. XXI, 2; XXII, 3.

[36] Is. XXXII, 1.

ers of every generation responsible for the status of justice in that particular generation.[37] Indeed the rabbis tell us that the fame of practically all the great leaders in Israel has ever depended on their sense of justice and on their interest in the administration of justice.[38] Moses was deemed great because he could not stand by and see an Egyptian taskmaster unjustly smiting "a Hebrew, one of his brethren".[39] Samuel was numbered among the foremost leaders of Israel, because "he judged Israel all his life, and went from year to year in circuit to Bethel, Gilgal and Mizpah; and he judged Israel in all these places".[40] David's fame as an ideal king was due to the fact that "he executed justice and righteousness unto all his people".[41] Similarly the reign of Jehoshaphat was renowned, because he endeavored to strengthen his kingdom, "not by riches, nor by glory", but by extending the influence of the courts of justice, and by impressing the judges with the importance of their position.[42]

IV. JUDGES AND JUSTICE

Judges were regarded as the representatives of the Supreme Judge of the universe in dispensing justice on earth,[43] and by rendering just decisions they became, as it were, God's partners in creation.[44] They were required to consider every case carefully,[45] and not allow themselves to be influenced by sympathy, prejudice, or other personal emotions.[46] They were urged never to forget that the *Shechinah* was present at all court sessions.[47]

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[37] *Zohar* Ruth.

[38] *Tanhuma Shofetim.*

[39] Ex. II, 11-14.

[40] I Sam. VII, 15-17. Cf. *Sab.* 56a.

[41] I Chron. XVIII, 14.

[42] II Chron. XIX, 5-10.

[43] Cf. Ex. XXII, 7, 27; *Sanhedrin* 66a, *Sotah* 10a.

[44] *Sab.* 10a.

[45] *Aboth* I, 1; *Sanhedrin* 7b; *Yeb.* 109b; *B. M.* 117b.

[46] *Kethuboth* 105b. Cf. *Concerning Justice,* Lucilus A. Emery, 1914, p. 132.

[47] *Ber.* 6a. Cf. *Yalkut* to Ps. LXXXII; *Tosefta Sanhedrin* Ch. I.

Only such were deemed worthy of sitting in judgment on others who were themselves free from any taint of unjust action,[48] who "feared God, loved truth, and hated unjust gain".[49] The appointment of an unworthy judge in Israel was as reprehensible as the planting of an *Ashera* near the altar of the Lord.[50] A judge who deviates from the straight line of justice, say the rabbis, defiles the land, profanes the holy Name, causes the *Schechinah* to depart, the sword to prevail, and Israel to be exiled.[51] Indeed all world cataclysms and disturbances may always be traced to the inefficiency or dishonesty of judges.[52]

V. THE UNIVERSE AND JUSTICE

For justice is not only the foundation of God's throne, it is the very foundation of the universe. Said Rabbi Simeon, the son of Gamliel: "Do not underestimate the importance of justice. It is one of the three pillars of the world. . . . Reflect, then, O judge! and consider that by any unjust verdict thou mayest disturb the equilibrium of the universe."[53] In other words, justice, like the plumb line, has the universe on its side. "Secret retribution", says Emerson, "is always restoring the level, when disturbed, of divine justice. It is impossible to tilt the beam. All the tyrants and proprietors and monopolists of the world, in vain set their shoulders to heave the bar. Settles for evermore the ponderous equator to its line, and man and mote, and star and sun, must range to it, or be pulverized by the recoil."[54] Yea, even the Creator Himself, maintain the

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[48] *B. B.* 58b. Cf. Ez. XXIII, 45.

[49] Ex. XVIII, 21.

[50] *San.* 7b.

[51] *Sifra Kedoshim* IV, 1 (to Lev. XIX, 15); *San.* 7a; *Sab.* 139a.

[52] *Sab.* 139a, *Sanhedrin* 109b, *Midrash Hashkem,* Ch. VII (*Ozar Midrashim,* Vol. I, p. 140).

[53] *Deb. Rab.* V, 2. Cf. *Aboth* I, 18; *Yer. Taanith* IV; *Midrash Hashkem,* Ch. VII; *Hagigah* 12b, *Zohar Mishpatim*:

לית עלמא מתקיימא אלא על דינא

[54] *Lectures and Biographical Sketches,* 1868, p. 186. Cf. *Midrash Gadol,* Ch. XIII, *Ozar Midrashim,* Vol. I, p. 80.

rabbis, must range to it. "Whatever I do", says the Holy One, blessed be He, "I do in accordance with strict justice. For were I at any time to act otherwise, the world would return to chaos".[55] And once, so we are told, the sun and moon actually threatened to cease functioning, unless justice be done to Moses, the son of Amram.[56]

VI. HUMAN SOCIETY AND JUSTICE

Justice being the essence of God and the foundation of the universe, it must needs be the basis of human society.[57] Even as our physical organism was devised for existence in the atmosphere of our universe, so our moral organism was devised for existence in justice. Every faculty craves for it, and is more intimately concerned about it than about light or heat, or the laws of gravitation. Leaving justice, we leave our natural element. "Justice is the ligament which holds civilized beings and civilized nations together. Wherever her temple stands, and so long as it is duly honored, there is a foundation for social security, general happiness, and the improvement and progress of our race."[58] "If violence is the salvation of brutes, the salvation of man is justice". "Justice, justice shalt thou pursue, that thou mayest live and inherit the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee".[59] "If ye thoroughly execute justice between a man and his neighbor; if ye oppress not the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, and shed not innocent blood in this place . . ., then will I cause you to dwell in this place, in the land that I gave to your fathers, for ever and ever."[60] Justice is the only highway

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[55] *Tanhuma Mishpatim.*

[56] *Nedarim* 39b.

[57] Cf. *Wisdom of Solomon*, Ch. I, 8.

[58] Daniel Webster in his eulogy of Justice Story. See Montefiore in Hibbert Journal, Jan., 1918, p. 248. It is interesting to note that while the rallying cry of the French Revolution was "*Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite*", the Young Turks, in the bloodless revolution of July, 1918, adopted that threefold watchword, but added a fourth word "Justice" (See *Outlook*, July 9, 1910, p. 532).

[59] Deut. XVI, 20.

[60] Jer. VII, 5-7. Cf. XXII, 3.

to prosperity and peace.[61] "The work of justice shall be peace; and the effect thereof quietness and confidence for ever".[62] "Justice and peace kiss each other".[63] Social unrest and war, according to the rabbis, are the result of injustice.[64]

Adumbrations of the growing sense of international justice may be found in the admonition not to despise an Edomite or an Egyptian,[65] as well as in the resentment shown against the lack of international amenities on the part of Ammon and Moab, who did not meet Israel with bread and water, when he "came forth out of Egypt".[66] Amalek was hated because of his unfair and cowardly method of attack, because he "smote the hindmost of thee, all that were enfeebled in thy rear, when thou wast faint and weary."[67] The unpardonable sin of Damascus, in the eyes of Amos, was "the threshing of Gilead with sledges of iron". The unpardonable sins of both Gaza and Tyre were "the carrying away of captives to deliver them up to Edom", and the disregard of the "brotherly covenant", as if it were a mere "scrap of paper". Likewise the most flagrant crimes of Edom, Moab and Ammon were, in the judgment of the prophet, international in character.[68] Isaiah suggested a sort of League of Nations between Egypt, Assyria, and Israel, as the first step to ideal international relations, blessed by the Lord thus: "Blessed be Egypt, My people, Assyria, the work of My hands, and Israel, Mine inheritance".[69] He prophesied, however, that no union of nations would ever bring about an era of peace unless the peoples developed a supreme desire for justice; unless "the peoples recognized that there was a sovereignty above the sovereignty of nations, and a moral law above the laws of kings

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[61] *Yer. Taanith* IV; *Midrash Hashkem*, Ch. VII; *Mekilta Mishpatim*, Ch. I. Cf. Ex. XVIII, 23.

[62] Is. XXXII, 17. Cf. Jer. XXIII, 4-5, also *Ethics of Judaism*, M. Lazarus (English edition), Ch. VII, Note to paragraph 283.

[63] Ps. LXXXV, 11.

[64] *Sotah* 47b; *Aboth* V, 8. Cf. *Sab.* 33a.

[65] Deut. XXIII, 8.

[66] Ibid., XXIII, 5.

[67] Ibid., XXV, 18.

[68] Amos I, 3-II, 3.

[69] Is. XIX, 24.

and councils". "And it shall come to pass in the end of days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established as the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it. And many peoples shall go and say, 'Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and He will teach us of His ways, and we will walk in His paths'. For out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And He shall judge between the nations, and shall decide for many peoples; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."[70]

VII. ISRAEL AND JUSTICE

The Jew's conception of justice seems to have been a kind of a composite of both the classical definition, *constans et perpetua voluntas jus suum cuique tribuendi* (a constant and perpetual will to render to each one his right), and the modern idea of justice as "the equilibrium between the full freedom of the individual and the restrictions thereon necessary for the safety of society".[71] But in addition justice meant, to the Jew, the soul of the universe, the living spirit of human society. In Judaism justice became an intense passion, an overwhelming impulse; and doing justice a sacred rite, a holy ordinance. "The distinguishing characteristics of Judaism", says a Christian writer, "is that it strove to replace a system of unrestricted might by a system of law and order based upon morality".[72]

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[70] Is. II, 2-4. See *Outlook*, Dec. 1, 1918.

[71] See *Concerning Justice*", Lucilus A. Emery, 1914, p. 57. The Hebrew term for justice is משפט, צדקה or דין. See Gen. XVIII, 19; II Sam. VIII, 15; Is. I, 27; V, 16; LVI, 1; Ps. IX, 5; XXXVI, 7; LXXXIX, 15; Prov. XXI, 3; Amos V, 25; *Succah* 49b; *Ber.* 5b; *Sifra* IV, 1; *Deb. Rab.* V, 4. In many instances, however, the rabbis distinguish between משפט and צדקה as between justice and charity: *Midrash Tehilim* to Ps. CI, 1; *Tanhuma* to Deut. XVI, 18; *San.* 6b; *Erkin* 8b; *Deb. Rab.* V, 3, 5-6; XX, 2. Cf. *Ethics of Judaism*, by Lazarus, Philadelphia, 1900, Part I, Appendix 3.

[72] Politicus in *Fortnightly Review*, quoted in Homiletic Review, N. Y., Vol. LXXV, p. 364.

"This world", claims Judge Stafford, "owes its conception of justice to the Jew."[73] "Charity", complains a recent editorial in the *St. Louis Republic,* "that is the one virtue which you will hear emphasized, and it is in the emphasis of that virtue that the weakness of the Church lies. The rich malefactor can and does give alms. He takes a dollar from the laborer and throws him back a penny through the Provident Association. Having given charity, he feels cleansed and pure of heart. His multitude of sins has been covered. The Church smiles upon him and lauds his virtue".[74] And Dean Charles R. Brown, of Yale University, deplores the fact that "the Church emphasized the personal and private virtues of sobriety, chastity, kindliness and the like. It had been preparing the souls of men for residence in a blissful hereafter". Yet no adequate attention has been given "to the organized life of man in political and economic relations".[75] Judaism, on the other hand, looked upon just relations between man and man, between nation and nation, as the cornerstone of its religious structure. The Jewish ideal of a righteous life may be epitomized in the Midrashic phrase שמרו את הדין ואני אשמור את נפשותיכם. "Guard ye diligently the administration of justice, and I will take care of your souls", said the holy One, blessed be He.[76] The very word for a pious and God-fearing man in Hebrew is צדיק, i. e., a man who lives in accordance with the principle of justice and righteousness.[77] Abraham was favored by God, because he was "to command his children and his household after him that they may keep the way of the Lord, to do righteousness and justice".[78] When the prophets undertook the task of defining religion, they always defined it in terms of justice. In their judgment "no virtue was so truly great and Godlike as justice". "Hate evil and

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[73] The *American Israelite,* Feb. 12, 1914.

[74] Quoted in *Literary Digest,* Feb. 22, 1919, p. 36.

[75] *The Expositor,* Jan. 1919, p. 291.

[76] *Deb. Rab.* V, 4.

[77] Gen. VI, 9; XVIII, 23; Ez. XXIII, 48. Cf. ואיש כי יהיה צדיק ועשה משפט וצדקה (Ez. XVIII, 5), also Deut. XXV, 1; IV, 8; Prov. XVIII, 17; I Sam. XXIV, 18; Ps. VII, 12; CXLV, 17.

[78] Gen. XVIII, 19; Cf. *Deb. Rab.* III, 9.

love the good, and establish justice in the gate", cried Amos.[79] "I hate, I despise your feasts, and I will take no delight in your solemn assemblies. Yea, though ye offer me burnt-offerings and meal-offerings, I will not accept them. . . . Let justice well up as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream".[80] Micah defined religion as "doing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly before God."[81] Similarly Isaiah claimed that the basis of religion was "to seek justice, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow".[82] "He that walketh righteously, and speaketh uprightly; he that despiseth the gain of oppression, that shaketh his hands from holding of bribes . . . he shall dwell on high".[83] Jeremiah insisted that praise was due to him only who understandeth and knoweth God as One who exercises mercy, justice and righteousness, and who delights in these things.[84] Ezekiel's description of a religious life consisted mainly of just relations between man and man.[85] The writer of Proverbs declares, "To do righteousness and justice is more acceptable to the Lord than sacrifice".[86] Rabbi Samuel, the son of Nahmeni, tells us that when David was repeatedly harassed by the innuendoes of his enemies for not having been allowed to build the Temple, God assured him that his impartial administration of justice was of far greater spiritual value than the building of the Temple.[87] Justice, say the rabbis, is as important as all the Ten Commandments taken together. Hence it was revealed to Moses at Marah, long before Israel reached Sinai, as it is written (Ex. XV, 25): "There He gave him a statute and judgment".[88] Of all things created, justice was the most cherished by God (Is. LXI, 8), hence He gave it to His most beloved

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[79] Amos V, 15.

[80] Ibid., V, 21-24.

[81] Micah VI, 8.

[82] Is. I, 17. Cf. *The Ethics of the O. T.*, p. 140.

[83] Is. XXXIII, 15. Cf. Ez. XVIII, 6-7.

[84] Jer. IX, 23.

[85] Ez. XVIII, 5-9.

[86] Prov. XXI, 3.

[87] *Deb. Rab.* V, 3.

[88] *Midrash Hashkem*, ch. VII (ed. Eisenstein, p. 140), Cf. *Mekilta Mishpatim*, ch. I.

son, Israel (Hosea XI, 1).[89] Indeed, were it not for the sake of justice, Israel might never have received the Torah.[90]

Israel's final redemption is also conditioned by a return to the ideal state of justice.[91] The prophets and sages of Israel never lost faith in justice as the all-powerful motive in the lives of nations and individuals.[92] Even though they saw injustice flourish and prosper, even though they witnessed the mighty of the land oppressing the poor and the weak, with impunity;[93] yet having known God as essentially just, having been imbued with the idea that justice permeated all creation, they proclaimed their conviction of the final triumph of justice, the final victory of that divine, universal law.[94] The Messiah, the ideal ruler of the future, was pictured as one who "will judge the poor with righteousness, and decide with equity for the meek of the land".[95] Righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins",[96] and "he shall execute justice and righteousness in the land. In his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel dwell in safety; and this is the name whereby he shall be called יהוה צדקנו "The Lord is our justice".[97] In the messianic era proclaimed by the prophets, all the evils that existed in the old social order will be banished for ever, while justice triumphant will be permanently established.

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[89] *Deb. Rab.* V, 6.

[90] *Midrash Leolom,* ch. XIII (ed. Eisenstein, p. 273).

[91] Is. I, 27; LVI, 1; LIV, 4; XXVIII, 17. Cf. *Deb. Rab.* V, 5.

[92] Cf. Wisdom of Solomon XIV, 31.

[93] Cf. Hab. I, 13; Eccl. VII, 9; IX, 2; Jer. XII, 1-3; Mal. III, 15. See *Ber.* 7a, *The Ethics of the Old Testament,* p. 170.

[94] Cf. Prov. X. 25; XXIV, 16; Ps. XXXVII, 6-10; Is. XXVI, 9. "Nature disposes of a future, a space, whereof we have no idea, wherein there exists, it may be, a justice proportioned to her duration, her extent and her aim, even as our instinct of justice is proportioned to the duration and the narrow circle of our own life. She may for centuries commit a wrong that she has centuries in which to repair." (*North American Rev.,* Vol. 174, p. 9).

[95] Is. XI, 4.

[96] Ibid., V. 5.

[97] Jer. XXIII, 5; cf. Is. IX, 6; XVI, 5.

VIII. JUSTICE, IMPARTIAL NOT SENTIMENTAL

The aim of Judaism was not merely to prepare for "a blissful hereafter", but primarily to make life on this earth blessed.[98] "Who shall sojourn in Thy tabernacle, who shall dwell upon Thy holy mountain? He that walketh uprightly and worketh justice, and speaketh truth in his heart".[99] And justice was conceived not merely "in the vulgar sense that judges have to decide honestly and candidly according to the law, but in that higher sense, that the law itself has to be shaped so as to protect the weaker, the poorer, from oppression, from over-toil, from iniquity and from cruelty; so as to put also a restraint to the excessive accumulation of power and wealth in the hands of a few monopolists".[100] There are many things which בדיני אדם, legally, may be right, but בדיני שמים, morally, are absolutely wrong.[101] To be sure the Jew had his written statutes and ordinances. These, however, by no means proved a yoke and a burden to Israel, as Church historians and theologians want us to believe; but rather marked an advanced stage in the evolution of social justice. For written law eliminated caprice and favor which were natural concomitants of the older system of individual decisions passed by elders, tribal chiefs, or priests.[102] But the students of the written law had also to be students of justice. Moses' charge to the judges: "And judge ye justly",[103] is interpreted by the

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[98] The Jew had his doctrine of future retribution as a natural corollary to his ideal of divine justice. (See II Macc. VI, 26; VII, 34; Wisdom of Solomon IV, 19 seq.; *Ked.* 32b, 40b; *Hulin* 142a; *Yer. Hagigah* II, 2.) Yet he never over-emphasized or over-worked the belief in a future life. Cf. K. Kohler's *Jewish Theology*, p. 124.

[99] Ps. XV, 1-2; cf. Ps. XXIV, 3-5.

[100] Professor Theodore Reinach of Paris in his address before the Judaeans, Jan. 30, 1919. See *American Hebrew*, N. Y., Feb. 14, 1919. Cf. *The Ethics of the Halakah*, J. Z. Lauterbach, Yearbook, C. C. A. R., Vol. XXIII, p. 269ff.

[101] B. K. 55b.

[102] Cf. *Philos. Rev.*, Vol. XV, p. 366; also Lauterbach, C. C. A. R. Yearbook, XXIII, p. 258.

[103] Deut. I, 18.

rabbis to mean: "Be first sure of the justice of the case, then render thy decision".[104]

Judges were advised to use their common sense,[105] and admonished not to allow any personal sentiment or sympathy to influence their verdict.[106] "Thou shalt not respect the person of the poor",[107] calls forth the following rabbinical comment: "Thou art liable to say, 'since he is poor, both I and his rich opponent are bound to provide for his sustenance, hence I may just as well favor him in judgment'. Therefore Scripture sounds the warning, 'Respect not in judgment the person of the poor' ".[108] The rabbis also call our attention to the words of the Psalmist: *"Do justice* to the afflicted and destitute";[109] justice must be the guiding principle even in the case of the afflicted and destitute, and not sentimental love. The business of the judge is to render justice, not to rob the rich for the sake of the poor.[110] And when one of the rabbis attributed to King David the practice of paying out of his own treasury the amount due from the offending poor in reparation of damage or wrong done to others, Rabbi Nahman declared that, in his judgment, such action was rather apprehensive; for frequent procedures of that sort would kill the very spirit of impartial justice. It would tempt many to cheat and defraud their fellowmen, knowing beforehand that not they, but the royal judge, would have to make amends and pay indemnity.[111]

The rich and the mighty of the land, however, were expected to respect most scrupulously the rights of the poor and the weak, and severe punishment was meted out to any one who dared to infringe on the personal and property rights of the weaker element of the community. There is a clear indication

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[104] *San.* 7b.

[105] Cf. *Hoshen Mishpat* and *Beth Joseph* ch. XV. Note also that מדת הדין denotes merely "common sense"; see *Yoma* 43a.

[106] Deut. I, 17; *Kethuboth* 105b. Cf. *Sab.* 119a, also *The Ethics of the Old Testament*, p. 170.

[107] Lev. XIX, 15; cf. Ex. XXIII, 3.

[108] Sifra IV, 2.

[109] Ps. LXXXII, 3.

[110] *Yalkut* ad loc.

[111] *Deb. Rab.* V, 3.

of such general sentiment in the spontaneous reply of David to Nathan's complaint of the rich man who had flocks and herds, but "spared to take of his own flock and of his own herd, to dress for the wayfaring man that was come unto him, but took the poor man's lamb", who had no other possessions. Such outrageous conduct at once aroused David's anger, who exclaimed: "As the Lord liveth, the man that hath done this deserveth to die; and he shall restore the lamb fourfold, because he did this thing, and because he had no pity."[112]

Such a spirit of justice to-day would not allow a man who had stolen a coal mine to be dealt with more leniently than "the woman who picked up coal on the tracks". Such a spirit of impartial justice would not permit a man who had stolen a whole railway to be less severely punished than he who had stolen the railway's old iron. Such a spirit of justice would be severe with both the Bourbonists and Bolsheviki. "Favor not the person of the mighty", is the admonition of the writer of Leviticus;[113] upon which the rabbis comment: "Thou mayest be inclined to say: 'Why, this man is rich, he is a member of a famous and influential family, how can I put him to shame, how can I disgrace him and his innocent relatives in public?' Therefore it is written, 'Respect not the person of the mighty'."[114]

"The ancient Jews", declares a modern Christian writer, "in dealing with crime, were animated by the principles which prevail to-day. The Old Testament enjoins that criminals should be punished according to their desert; severely, but not barbarously."[115] יקוב הדין את ההר "Let justice pierce the mountain",[116] אין מרחמים בדין "No personal sentiment of mercy can be shown in the administration of justice"[117] are familiar Talmudic expressions. The rabbis felt that "justice is that which is exactly right. It is a plumb line. A plumb line can be changed only by throwing it out of plumb. It may then be any kind of a

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[112] II Sam. XII, 1-6. Cf. *The Ethics of the O. T.*, p. 77.
[113] Lev. XIX, 15.
[114] *Sifra* IV, 2.
[115] See *Homiletic Rev.*, N. Y., Vol. LXXV, p. 365.
[116] *Yeb.* 92a, *San.* 6b.
[117] *Kethuboth* 84a.

line". "Our merciful Father can no more be too liberal with him who violates the moral laws of life", says Rabbi Haninah, "than the stomach can be too liberal with him who violates the physical laws of nature".[118] Was not that the feeling of the American judge who, with tears running down his cheeks, passed sentence of death on Professor Webster in 1849? "You and I were classmates", he said, "but the law must take its course". Was not that the feeling of Abraham Lincoln who, looking over the bloody field of Gettysburg, said in a broken voice: "This is awful, awful, but it must go on"?

IX. Justice Versus Charity

There seems to be a great deal of truth and common sense in the words of old Humphrey Baskerville, an interesting character in *"The Three Brothers"*, by Eden Phillipots. Humphrey thinks that "justice is firm ground; mercy is not. It is so easy to be merciful to people who have sinned against somebody else. But mercy is slow poison, if you ask me. It rots the very roots of justice". Judge Thomas, of Alabama, in an address delivered at Nashville about twelve years ago, declared that the large number of homicides in the United States was due partly to the fact that juries are swayed by sentimentality in seeing, for instance, the grief or suffering of a guilty prisoner's wife, and are heedless of the danger to society involved in freeing the prisoner.[119] "The mawkish sentimentality with which the criminal is sometimes regarded in these days, demands the most strenuous protest. An entirely misplaced pity is often lavished upon him, whereas it is society, outraged and dishonored by his crime, which really deserves commiseration".[120] It is not a question whether or not mercy shall be shown. The real question is when shall it be shown, and to whom shall it be shown;

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[118] *B. K.* 50a; *Ber. Rab.* LVII, 4. Cf. *Berakoth* 33b, also the contention of Herbert Spencer in *"Education"* (p. 178) that parents, "as ministers and interpreters of Nature", have no right to ward off the consequences of conduct from their children.

[119] See *The Outlook*, N. Y., Feb. 16, 1917.

[120] *Judaism As Creed and Life*, M. Joseph, p. 447.

to the one or to the many, to the guilty or to the innocent, to the murderer, or to him who may be his next victim if he goes free. Says Rabbi Simeon, the son of Lakish: "He who manifests a spirit of mercy where firmness is demanded, will most probably prove unsusceptible to mercy when conditions really require it. Saul, for instance, showed mercy to the treacherous Amalekites (I Sam. XV), but acted most barbarously towards Nob, the city of priests, where he smote with the edge of the sword both men and women, children and sucklings (I Sam. XXII, 19).[121] In our own days the international question is: whether mercy and sympathy be shown to outraged Belgium or to unrepentant Germany? Hear what a Western editor has to say on that subject: "Pacifists will now come out of hiding, and show mercy to the defeated. They will come bearing bouquets, asking permission to offer consolation to the prisoner, and to leave tracts and flowers in the cell. . . . Heaven spare us from mush".[122] This sentiment is re-echoed by the *Milwaukee Journal*: "Out upon all such sickly sentimentality! To put Germany where she belongs, to make her pay for the wrongs she has inflicted, to render her helpless to pounce upon the world in the future, that is the duty which we owe to civilization and to posterity".[123] But these mushy pacifists and sickly sentimentalists may quote to these editors the memorable words of the New Testament: "I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them who despitefully use you and persecute you; that ye may be children of your Father, who is in heaven; for He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good; and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust".[124]

The policy of "Go and sin no more",[125] may be very beautiful and fanciful in theory, but does not seem to work well in the average human society. Even a man of the type of Judge Ben. Lindsay, "the friend of the friendless boy", emphasizes the

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[121] *Koheleth Rab.* VII, 33. Cf. *Yoma* 22b.

[122] *Kansas City Star*, quoted by *Literary Digest*, Nov. 30, 1918.

[123] See *Literary Digest*, Dec. 28, 1918.

[124] Matt. V, 44-45.

[125] John VIII, 11.

fact that firmness is necessary in solving the problem of the boy criminal. "You cannot reform a bad boy", he maintains, "by patting him on the back, and telling him to be good". Some stronger measure is needed.[126] Dr. Kohler is certainly right when he says: "Love as a principle of action is not sufficiently firm to fashion human conduct or rule society. . . . Love without justice leads to abuse and wrong. . . ."[127] Yea, love without justice may lead to such a perverted system, in which only the criminal, the murderer, the moral outcast, or the mental defective is conscientiously looked after by society, is well housed, well clad, well fed, and given a vocational training; while the individual who is unfortunate enough to possess a healthy body and a healthy soul, who is mentally and morally normal, who instinctively clings to law and order, but who happens to have been born of poor parents, in a slum atmosphere, surrounded by untoward conditions, and who scouts charity and love, but asks for justice, for an opportunity to earn enough, so as to be well housed, well clad, well fed, and have enough leisure for bodily or mental recreation; such a man often meets with no sympathy, is utterly neglected, if not scowled at by so-called philanthropists, lovers of mankind. Moreover some of these very philanthropists are liable to prove extremely unjust to the healthy man or woman employed by them, and at the same time proclaim from the housetops their love of mankind, by advocating prison reforms, the building of new reformatories, the construction of better hospitals and better insane asylums. Then if, after all their charitable efforts, a voice of protest is heard from the ranks of the "Great Unwashed", these lovers of mankind hold up their hands in dismay, and speak of inexplicable human ingratitude. They recall to mind the tender-hearted lady who lovingly petted a stray kitten, and tried to shower affection on it. But the more she coddled it, the more it meowed, and twisted, and tried to get away. The good, sympathetic lady could not understand the spirit of ungratefulness that possessed that rebellious kitten, until a passer-

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[126] See *Outlook*, Feb. 29, 1918, p. 477.

[127] *Jewish Theology*, p. 485.

by called her attention to the fact that while she was fondling the little kitten, she was all the while standing on its tail. After all, the writer of Proverbs was right, when he said: "The kisses of an enemy are burdensome".[128]

X. JUSTICE AND MERCY

Let us not forget, however, that though the Jew refused to substitute love for justice, he felt that justice must occasionally be supplemented, or rather complemented, by love and mercy. To be sure the Jew was convinced that harmony and order could be secured only by emphasizing justice, and that sentimental love without justice would produce social and moral chaos.[129] The Jew was convinced that justice must be humanity's watchword, evil must be resisted, crime must be adequately punished. But he also felt that "the highest form of justice consisted in punishing with love. that love and punishment could easily go together. A loving father would not hesitate to punish his child for wrongdoing. Impunity encourages crime, while punishment, inflicted in the right spirit, may reform and benefit the criminal."[130] Indeed Rabbi Yehudah Hanasi asserts that to force a thief to restore some stolen property, is to render him a charitable service.[131] *Justice must be seasoned with mercy;* but none the less it must in the main be justice, *not mercy seasoned with justice.* Justice is the basis of the pyramid, mercy its apex.[132] To exalt mercy above justice is to place the pyramid on its apex.

In actual life "there is no real difference between justice and love. Love is justice. If my neighbor deserves my love, it is his due. Love to be moral, must be justifiable".[133] "Mercy is only another name for justice. It is only another expression of

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[128] Prov. XXVII, 6. Cf. *Judaism as Creed and Life,* p. 448.

[129] Cf. *"Concerning Justice",* L. A. Emery, p. 67; *Al Parashath Derakim,* Vol. I, Ahad Haam, Odessa, 1895, p. 173; *Jewish Theology,* p. 122.

[130] Cf. Holmes' *Introduction to Wisdom of Solomon.*

[131] *Sanhedrin* 6b. Cf. *Ber. Rab.* XXXIII, 1; *Deb. Rab.* V, 3.

[132] Cf. *Al Parashath Derakim,* Vol. I, p. 171.

[133] *Judaism as Creed and Life,* London, 1903, p. 400.

the same infinite and divine face. If we ever think of mercy and justice as warring with each other, it is only because our view is narrow and contracted".[134] True justice, according to the *Zohar,* is but an amalgam of justice and mercy.[135] The prophet recommends both in the same breath: "Execute true judgment, and show mercy and compassion every man to his brother".[136] Likewise the Psalmist sings: "Righteousness and justice are the foundation of Thy throne, mercy and truth go before Thee".[137] The proverb, "To do righteousness and justice is more acceptable to the Lord than sacrifice",[138] has its parallel in "I desire mercy and not sacrifice".[139] Moses, the protagonist of strict justice, had his counterpart in his brother Aaron, "who loved peace, pursued peace, and always endeavored to make peace between one man and his neighbor".[140] The kings of Israel were known as מלכי חסד, merciful kings,[141] and the people of Israel were characterized as רחמנים בני רחמנים, merciful children of merciful ancestors.[142] Rabbi Jacob points out that in all three divisions of the Bible, in the Torah, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, משפט (justice) is placed between חסד (mercy) and צדקה (charity), because absolute justice can hardly be attained.[143] Hence even judges were occasionally permitted to deviate slightly from the straight line of justice לפנים משורת הדין, if there were extenuating circumstances.[144] Rabbi Yohanan even claims that Jerusalem was destroyed because legal, pedantic justice only held sway.[145]

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134 Judge Stafford, quoted in *American Israelite,* Feb. 12, 1914.

135 *Zohar Kedoshim* (ed. Wilna, 1894), p. 170.

136 Zechariah VII, 9.

137 Ps. LXXXIX, 15.

138 Prov. XXI, 3.

139 Hosea VI, 6.

140 *Sanhedrin* 6b.

141 I Kg. XX, 32.

142 *Yebamoth* 79a. Cf. *Jewish Theology,* p. 489; *Jewish Eugenics,* M. Reichler, N. Y., 1916, pp. 14-15.

143 *Midrash Hagadol,* quoted in *Beth Hamidrash* (ed. A. Walden, Warsaw, 1893) to Psalms LXXXIX, 15.

144 *Mekilta Yithro;* B. M. 30b; B. K. 100a; Cf. Ex. XXII, 2; Prov. VI, 30; *Al Parashath Derakim,* Vol. I, p. 170.

145 *B. M.* 30b. Cf. article in *Illinois Law Rev.,* April, 1907, by Dean John H. Wigmore, concerning modern system of legal justice.

Moreover the God of Israel was not only a God of Justice, but also the God of the Heart. "Merciful is the Lord and just", asserts the Psalmist, "yea, our God is compassionate".[146] "With reverence and awe the Jew bowed his head and said, 'Our God is a consuming fire', and then he lifted up his head in child-like confidence, and said, 'His mercy endureth forever'. He saw that the two truths were not really two, but one. He thought of God as a King who wraps creation around Him like a garment, and yet he felt Him to be a Father who leans down to catch the lowest whisper of His child".[147] "Like as a father hath compassion upon his children, so hath the Lord compassion upon them that fear Him".[148] Rabbi Yohanan says בכל מקום שאתה מוצא גדולתו של הקב"ה, שם אתה מוצא ענותנותו "Wherever Scripture speaks of the greatness and omnipotence of the holy One, blessed be He, it at the same time refers to His humility and benevolence".[149] And the Midrash tells us that when God was about to create the world, He was in the position of one who desired to fill up some empty glasses. To pour hot liquid into them would cause them to burst, to fill them with ice-cold liquid would cause them to break. He, therefore, first mixed the hot and cold liquids together, and then poured the lukewarm mixture into the glasses. Similarly God thought: "If I create the universe by the *Midath Raḥamim* (attribute of mercy) only, sin and injustice will prevail; if, on the other hand, I create the universe by the *Midath Hadin* (attribute of justice) only, few mortals will be able to stand before My judgment throne; I will therefore create the world both by *Midath Hadin* and *Midath Raḥamim*".[150] At the Red Sea God appeared to Israel as a fighting hero, while

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[146] Ps. CXVI, 5.

[147] Judge Stafford in *American Israelite*, Feb. 12, 1914. Cf. Deut. IV, 24; Ps. CVII, 1; CIV, 1-2; CIII, 13.

[148] Ps. CIII, 13.

[149] *Meg.* 31a. Cf. Deut. X, 17-18; Is. LXII, 15; Ps. LXVIII, 5-6. See also *Tertullian*, Bk. II, Ch. XII.

[150] *Ber. Rab.* XII, 15. Cf. *Ber. Rab.* XLIX, 20.
אם עולם אתה מבקש אין דין ואם דין אתה מבקש אין עולם
See also *Abodah Zarah* 3b; *Hagigah* 12a; Midrash *Hupath Elijah*, CXVI (ed. Eisenstein), *Ozar Midrashim*, Vol. I, p. 170.

at Mount Sinai He appeared as the Ancient of Days, replete with mercy. Yet these were only two phases of the same Deity; He was the same in Egypt and at the Red Sea. He will be the same in the future as He was in the past; He will be the same in the world to come as He is in this world; as it is written (Deut. XXXII, 39), "See now that I, even I, am He, and there is no god with Me".[151] Wherever *Jehovah* is used as the name of the Deity, it points to one phase of the Deity, to the divine attribute of mercy; *Elohim,* on the other hand, is supposed to emphasize the other phase, the divine attribute of justice.[152] "Woe unto the wicked who disturb the equilibrium between these two attributes, and cause the attribute of stern justice to prevail. Praiseworthy are the righteous whose goodness causeth divine mercy to predominate."[153] According to Rabbi Yose the Gallilean the thrones mentioned in Daniel (Chapter VII, verse 9), refer to the two thrones of God, the throne of justice and the throne of mercy.[154] He moves from one throne to the other, according to the nature of the culprit and the character of the crime;[155] and prays, as it were, that the attribute of mercy be ever the prevailing influence in dealing with His children, so that, for their sake, He may turn aside from the course of strict justice."[156] The children of Israel are assured that as long as they cling to justice, the Almighty will grant them mercy.[157] This thought is put into the form of a parable by Rabbi Simeon, the son of Halafta. A mighty king once betrothed unto himself a renowned princess, who possessed a precious heirloom, two jewels of enormous value; and the king was pleased to enlarge her possession by presenting her with two corresponding jewels. By sheer carelessness, however, the princess lost her family jewels;

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151 *Yalkut Beshalah* (Ex. XV, 3), Ch. CCXCVI. Cf. *Tertullian* Ch. XXIX and Ch. XII.

152 *Ber. Rab.* XXXIII, 4. Cf. XII, 15, and *Midrash Tehilim* to Ps. CI, 1.

153 *Ber. Rab.* XIII, 4.

154 *Hagigah* 14a.

155 *Abodah Zarah* 3b; *Yer. Taanith* Ch. II, end of Hal. 1; *Pesikta Derabbi Kahana,* p. 162.

156 *Ber.* 7a.

157 Cf. *Tanhuma Mishpatim:* אם יש דין למטה אין דין למעלה

and the king, in his wrath, demanded the return of his own two jewels. In the course of time the princess, after diligent search, eventually found her long lost family jewels, and adorned with them, appeared before the king. When the king beheld his beloved in her regained splendor, he ordered his own two jewels to be brought forth, and a crown to be made of the four priceless gems, constituting the heritage of both houses, and then to be placed on the head of his beloved. The princess is Israel, and the king is Jehovah, the King of kings. Israel's two family jewels are Justice and Righteousness (Gen. XVIII, 19), Jehovah's two corresponding gifts to Israel are Mercy and Compassion (Deut. VII, 12; XIII, 18). Because for a time Israel failed to appreciate the great value of Justice and Righteousness, Jehovah too withheld His blessings of Mercy and Compassion from her. But as soon as Israel will return to her former moral status, and "Zion will be redeemed by Justice, and her captives by Righteousness" (Is. I, 27), Jehovah will again grant her Mercy and Compassion, and solemnly promise that even if "the mountains depart, and the hills be removed", Mercy and Compassion will never depart from His beloved. Yea, a fourfold crown of glory will be hers, as it is written: "And I shall betroth thee unto Me in Righteousness and in Justice, in Mercy and in Compassion" (Hosea II, 21).[158]

DISCUSSION

Rabbi Cronbach—The scholarly merits of the paper to which we have just listened admit of no question and require no discussion. We who knew Rabbi Reichler cherish high expectations of his scholarship and, in this paper, we are not disappointed. To find any fault with Rabbi Reichler's knowledge of the subject would require a knowledge of the subject far beyond anything that I am able to bring to bear. When this paper is printed, it will serve as a valuable compendium of information on the Jewish conception of justice.

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[158] *Deb. Rab.* III, 9.

The point at which I would suggest some changes and additions lies at the boundary line where scholarship stops and philosophy begins. Let me indicate the amicable differences between Rabbi Reichler and myself.

In the first place, I disagree with our colleague when he affirms as his own opinion the traditional antithesis between justice and love. There is a number of traditional antitheses which free and independent thinking would lead us to question; for instance, the old distinction between mind and matter, between body and spirit. There is a dividing line somewhere, but the dividing line does not lie, as we used to think, between mind and matter. Those of us who have kept up our study of philosophy know to what extent mind and matter are not juxtaposed realms, but overlapping realms. The same may be said of the distinction between egoism and altruism or even of the distinction between good and bad. Careful scrutiny will show that we have here not antitheses, but interpenetrations. It may even be that the contrast between capital and labor belongs to this class—not opposing things as we commonly suppose, but intertwined phases of one and the same thing. And similarly the contrast between love and justice. Love and justice are not divergent things like red and blue, but are simply intermingled phases of the same thing like the blackness of the iron and the hardness of the iron.

What is justice? Justice, in the first place, is a sentiment as the quotations in Reichler's paper amply show. Down at its roots, the demand for justice is but the assertion of the superlative worth of humanity. If I had written this paper, I would have headed the list of quotations with reflections voiced by our sages upon the subject of *Kibbud ha-beriyot,* respect for human worth. It is the sentiment which Kant expresses when he says, "Treat every human being not as a means, but as an end in himself". A fine exposition of this doctrine is to be found in Felix Adler's recent book, *An Ethical Philosophy of Life*—significant how irrepressible is Felix Adler's Judaism. There is no point to the entire demand for justice aside from this recognition of human worth. Once admit this and you already admit that the domains of love and of justice overlap. Rabbi Reichler

has given us a valuable list of quotations about the supplementation of the one by the other. I can not escape the impression that when our ancestors spoke of the supplementation of justice by love or of love by justice, they were struggling to say more than they actually did say. Infrangible habits of thought may have constrained them to speak of *"Middath ha-din"* and *"Middath ha-raḥamim"* as supplementary; and yet they may have sensed in the depths of their souls that it was not supplementation, but identity.

But the term *justice* covers more than a sentiment. In addition to being a sentiment, justice is also a line of action growing out of that sentiment. This line of action is itself analysable into several components. One of these components is legislation. Given a consciousness of human worth and certain rules of conduct follow. Legislation, whether in the form of legal statute or of social custom is only an announcement of these rules. The Decalog, for instance, which is the world's most notable piece of legislation simply describes for us those tendencies of human conduct which emanate from the consciousness of human worth. Exactly the same may be said of the latest child labor statute or old age pension enactment. Such and such only is the point to the phrase, "Social Justice". Social justice means merely that flexibility in our conception of property rights which must be maintained if the larger human rights are to be safeguarded and, by human rights, again, we mean simply the Kantian treatment of human beings not as means, but as ends. How illogical then to speak of a contrast between justice and love! There never was a movement toward social justice but took the phrase "Love of humanity" as its slogan.

An element of justice, however, far more important than the formulation of laws is the application and enforcement of laws. This, indeed, is almost the delimitation of the ordinary traditional use of the term. Rabbi Reichler's paper has an entire section devoted to the obligations of judges. Now, a large part of the work done in the courtroom is the ascertainment of facts. A law court serves as a barrier against the tide of passion that would overwhelm facts. As one of Rabbi Reichler's quotations intimates, justice and truth are close correlatives. Misapprehen-

sion and misinterpretation are the most common forms that injustice assumes. It would be a generalization hardly too sweeping to say that every case of injustice involves a lie.

I doubt whether most of you would agree with me, but if I were writing on this subject, I would assemble every Jewish quotation I could get hold of on the subject of *Anger*. Anger is not only the great opposite to love, but is also the opposite to justice, and this not merely because anger involves a negation of human worth, but more especially because anger and truth are simply incompatible. Impossible for the human mind to be angry and to be truthful at the same time! It would take us too far afield to inquire whether the anger causes the untruth or whether the untruth causes the anger. We have it none the less as a plain, patent, everyday fact that anger involves the complete derangement of our truth-apprehending machinery. I have never known of a denunciation large or small which turned out to be truthful. Every denunciation that I have ever heard or have ever myself delivered has proved, sooner or later, to be the product not of justice, but of untruth born of petulance or rage. Not to mention the abuses from which everyone of us has had to suffer personally (how antipodally removed from the truth!); recall only how we Jews used to be denounced as child murderers, as well poisoners, as host desecrators and the like. Our persecutors felt just as certain of our Jewish nefariousness as the Rev. Dr. Eaton feels regarding that of the man whom he accuses of being "pro-German". During the recent months of excitement we have only too often meant by "pro-German" any American citizen for whom the idea that war is something about which to become elated was hard to accept.

Justice then implies the ascertainment of truth. If investigation reveals that the law has been violated, the next step is to rectify the damage and to secure subsequent obedience to the law. There is nothing in heaven or on earth to say in favor of severity except that it may be a means toward this end. Says Whittier:

> "All revenge is crime,
> Man is holier than a creed:
> All restraint upon him must consult his good".

Severity of any other kind has absolutely nothing to do with justice. Such severity is plain vindictiveness, no matter how much it may use the word *justice* as its camouflage.

We have now reached the point in our discussion where we can uncover the real antithesis lying beneath the spurious traditional antithesis of justice and love. The issue is not between justice and love; the issue is between severity and leniency as means of securing justice.

Much of our severity, as already stated, is as far from justice as it is from love. Much of our severity is merely bad temper calling itself "justice". Your "fiery denouncer" is not always a protagonist of justice. He is often only a weak-willed man whose primitive impulses assert themselves. There may, of course, be instances, especially in the handling of the immature and the abnormal, when a calmly rational severity may be the only effective means of securing justice. I am not sure that I have found many such instances in my own experience. Most of the severity that I have ever seen has been nothing but bad temper. Still I may be mistaken. At any rate, I would interpret all of Rabbi Reichler's quotations concerning rigidity and severity as implying not the commendability of bad temper, but as merely intimating the possibility that in some cases, punitive measures may be the only effective way of doing any good.

But why does Rabbi Reichler omit mention of Tolstoi and Thomas Mott Osborne or more mention of Judge Lindsay? Why does he omit reference to such measures as juvenile courts, suspended sentence, indeterminate sentence, probation, prison reform and the like? Why does he fail to point out the talmudic mitigation of various biblical rigors as in the instance of the *Sotah*, the recalcitrant son, the death penalty, and so forth—all of which illustrate the superiority of leniency over severity as means of securing justice?

To commend severity is not only to give bad temper and, therefore, injustice an entering wedge, but is, also, to open the door to persecution and oppression. We should retain in mind enough history to know that what yesterday called wrong, to-day calls righteous; yesterday's villains are to-day's martyrs; yesterday's Trotskys are to-day's Christs. There has never been

a persecution or exploitation in history but has used as its warrant the doctrine of severity as a means of securing justice. This is the most dangerous even though the most respectable doctrine in the world.

Very emphatically do I disagree with Rabbi Reichler in the alignment he makes between Christianity and Judaism. I do not see how it could have occurred to anyone, either to-day or in ages past, that Judaism has all the severity on its side and Christianity all the leniency on its side. There is more "Hell Fire" in the New Testament than in the Old. The "outer darkness" with its "wailing and gnashing of teeth" and the Son of Man on his awful judgment throne are not Old Testament, but New Testament concepts, while the twenty-third chapter of Matthew, the most acrimonious denunciation in the Bible is not in the Jewish section, but in the Christian section. Our Christian friends say that their Jesus is lowly and loving, but the Jesus who is lowly and loving exists only in the hearts of Christians who are lowly and loving. He does not exist in many passages of the New Testament. The Jesus of the New Testament is often a fiery aggressive personality. Worship of him is not altogether inconsistent with Rev. Eaton's attitude toward the "pro-German". The Sermon on the Mount, the classic utterance in favor of leniency, is the most Jewish part of the New Testament. See Wuensche on this subject. And the Sermon on the Mount with its rabbinic parallels, is as much an exaltation of justice as it is of love. Unless you are meek, you are not going to be just. Unless you return good for evil, you are not going to be just. Vindictiveness is injustice as surely as fire is heat.

Rev. Eaton's words, "Knock his block . . . watch him blow to his Kaiser—to Hell", and similar remarks are not, as Rabbi Reichler seems to assume, expressions of justice. They are simply outbreaks of rage. I am decidedly unwilling to say that, so long as a Christian preacher retains his self-control, he is Christian and that when he loses his self-control he becomes Jewish. Yet, just this is what Rabbi Reichler has inadvertently said. All of us know, of course, that Rabbi Reichler did not

mean to say this. Still, his false equation of Justice with severity and of severity with Judaism lands him in this position.

Perhaps the only point at which our Jewish Talmud becomes suggestive of an attitude like that of Rev. Eaton is where Rabbi Eliezer says, (*Erubin,* 55b *Pesahim,* 49b), "It is permissible to transpierce an *am ha-arez* even on a *Yom Kippur* that chances to fall on the Sabbath" or where Rabbi Johanan says that it is permissible to rend an *am ha-arez* like a fish. Before we get through with the Talmud, however, we find Resh Lakish saying (*Ḥullin* 92a): "Israel is like a vine. Its sages are the clusters. Its *amme ha arez* are the leaves. Let the clusters pray for the leaves because the clusters are dependent on the leaves". Resh Lakish was a Palestinian Amora of the third century and not an American Christian preacher of the twentieth.

Not only as a Jew, but also as an American would I take issue with Rev. Eaton's "Knock his block . . . put a bomb on his chest". To assert that our stars and stripes must ally themselves with sentiments of this kind is to disrespect our flag more than did the Prussians when doing their worst.

The antithesis then is not between justice and love, but between severity and leniency as expedients for securing justice or, that we might rule out bad temper as outright injustice, let us say between rational severity and leniency. In their attitude toward both sides or toward either side, Judaism and Christianity show but little difference. On this point, Jews and Christians are nearly as much alike in their doctrines as they are in the success or the failure with which the doctrines are carried out in practice.

Rabbi Clifton Harby Levy—In printing Rabbi Cronbach's remarks I think it would be unfair to him and to us to let the impression go out that he said that the ten commandments were merely a piece of legislation or even the finest piece of legislation. They are a set of ideals and not legislation in the sense in which that term is usually employed.

Rabbi Kohler—I followed Rabbi Reichler's paper with the

warmest sympathy. Our friend, Rabbi Cronbach, is so tender-hearted that he finds in severity injustice. But a just God is indignant and angry at the breakers of the law. Throughout the prophetic utterances we find the great champions and advocates of justice overflowing with indignation at all kinds of injustice. Throughout the whole biblical literature, justice and mercy are contrasted. The world rests on justice, but we cannot afford to be judged by too severe a justice—therefore God included the other. Until Moses saw the revelation of God justice alone ruled the world. Then came this new revelation which brought mercy into the world. You have all read Tolstoi. There you have the Christian idea of a world ruled by love and you all know what the consequences were. A jurist of high standing in Austria assailed the conception of mercy as typified by Portia and says that the Jews stood for justice as against the tender-hearted weakness of the other. I have long stressed this idea of justice and have not yet been swerved from it.

Rabbi Schulman—I think that Rabbi Cronbach has handled the subject rather superficially. I do not mean this merely in the sense of criticism, but he has not gone deeply enough into the matter. Justice is an abstract virtue; the abstract is merely the idea. Strict justice means giving a man what is due him. There is no question of retribution. The question goes to the very root of ethical life. What absolute justice is will require perfect intelligence and perfect conscience to decide. It is constantly the ideal goal towards which we are tending. Therefore to say that it is merely a question of temper is superficial. But even taking the question of temper I find there is ethical value in the righteous indignation of a man. If nothing stirs you, if anything can be done and you remain calm, you lack the sense of justice. When Moses came down and saw what the people were doing, he got angry and broke the ten commandments. A man who cannot get angry is very much in danger of losing his sense of distinction between what is just and what is unjust.

Rabbi Heller—I cannot agree with any of the preceding speakers. Severity, or what may seem severity, may be indigna-

tion and that indignation, as has been said, may be righteous and necessary. According to the rabbinical statement, you may even hate people who wilfully wrong you. But what I missed through all the papers and discussion is a statement of the truth that there is something higher than retributive justice or preventative justice—the highest type which I call a foreseeing justice. In my contact with people and through my searching for what I consider the highest principle I have found that retribution is childish and that preventative justice cannot succeed because you cannot continue to prevent. The aim of justice must be to rise to higher and higher conditions. God's plan is not the continual straightening out of things, but the continual pushing forward to ever better conditions. I should also like to say something about the ideas of justice and love. Justice and love more than overlap. There is no real love which does not include justice. I could not approve of the quotation which presents love as a weakness. It is not fair to define love in that manner.

Rabbi Sale—It seems to me that the keynote of the entire subject was struck when one of the speakers said that we should not admit the antithesis as presented by Christianity between justice and love. Judaism represents the greater love. They not only overlap, as the last speaker said, but they are intimately associated and the one must include the other for all justice grows out of a sense of love for mankind. Every advance that has been made in the realization of the principle of justice in its widest application, individual as well as social, national or international, is simply a greater love. We have all agreed that the fundamental principle of our religion is to humanize—a larger measure of human justice growing out of a larger sense of our love, honor and respect for our fellowmen.

Rabbi Reichler—I merely used the Christian Church's antithesis between justice and mercy as a basis to show that the Christian has come back to the idea of justice in the severe form which we have outgrown. The God of Israel is a God of Justice. *Midas haraḥamim* and *midas hadin* are but two phases of God. There is no distinction between justice and love.

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THE SYNAGOG, THE WAR, AND THE DAYS BEYOND

Horace J. Wolf

The future promises as decided a reconstruction in the religious as in the social, economic and political spheres. The war has put all social institutions to the test and few, indeed, will emerge from that test unchanged and unscathed; the war has been a consuming fire, separating the pure metal from the dross. A day of reckoning awaits especially that system of religion which insistently posited love and meekness and non-resistance as the guiding principles of human relations before nineteen fourteen, and in the fall of that year attempted a sudden about-face—a system of religion to which we Jews have stood in the relation of "His Majesty's opposition", ever since its inception. It is interesting to recall how in the years preceding the war, Christian theologians never wearied of contrasting disparagingly the preachments of the Old and New Testaments; the pacifistic, self-negating spirit of the new dispensation being contrasted with the so-called harsh, rigorous trend of the old; the golden rule stressed again and again as the supreme contribution of religion to life; self-sacrifice and submission emphasized as the superior ethical *modi vivendi,* which made the daughter religion surpass the parent. Vainly did we protest that the Christian ethic never had functioned—and never could; that it could not be translated from books to life!

August, 1914, ushered in Christianity's day of judgment. There were only two alternatives—either to admit the hopeless inconsistency of any war with the Christian gospel and to denounce it, or to accept the war and attempt to harmonize the professions of the past with the practices of the present. The

church as a whole chose the second horn of the dilemna. Scholars and teachers were frantically mobilized to reconcile the irreconcilable—to demonstrate that the followers of the gentle teacher of Nazareth were not violating his doctrines of returning good for evil, loving their enemies, resisting not evil, etc., when they proceeded to kill and slaughter, and to explain to an amazed world that Jesus was not the prince of peace; that if he preached non-resistance, it was because he expected the world to end shortly; that he spoke with oriental hyperbole and that the golden rule was never meant to be taken literally, and so forth *ad nauseam*. As one read these futile *apologia,* one recalled that third eyelid, which, as Oliver Wendell Holmes pointed out, excludes not all light, but just as much as is wished. No wonder that one of the church's keenest minds reviewing these clumsy efforts to ignore the doctrines of nineteen centuries, exclaims in despair: "When we have time to settle down again it will become clear that in this controversy Jesus has been deprived of almost all significance and value for this world. Christianity will stand forth as a system of thought which blinds the mind, intensifies hate, pours oil on a conflagration, provides beautiful ideals to lure whole peoples to destruction. The ark of God has been sent to the battle. It may never come back or be mentioned again; or if it returns, the people may destroy what they have discovered to be a false and idolatrous Palladium. Christianity will be condemned as impossible in peace and dangerous in war". The only consistent Christians have been the conscientious objectors who protested that as followers of Jesus they could not bear arms. I believe it is no mere rhetorical gesture to venture that Judaism is on the eve of vindicating its century long protest against the vagaries of Christianity; the air is filled with voices proclaiming the new religion which is to be grounded on a "workable" ethics, which is to exalt justice as the cardinal principle for human relationships.

Accordingly, does not the function of the synagog in the days beyond the war, as far as its theological aspect is concerned, become clear? It has a large part to play in the founding of the new religion; it has an opportunity which is a challenge; it has the obligation to sound its voice more and more clearly in

the coming era of religious reconstruction. Now is the time for the synagog to point out in no hesitating or uncertain tones, the fallacies of the dominant religion, and to proffer to a world seeking a faith that will match men's needs, the pragmatic ideals of Israel's religion. Men are about to recast and revise, revamp and rebuild religious fundamentals, and they are uniquely ripe for the message of the synagog. The religion of to-morrow, which men are drafting to-day, will omit those concepts which have in the past been characterized as "Christian" and will include, as organic, the very doctrines which have made Judaism unique. Our own indifferentists or faint hearts must be converted to the wonderful opportunity for world-service offered by the coming years, the privilege of assisting their fellows to hasten the coming religion by holding aloft an ancient religious system which embodies the truths they seek. Our youth must be brought to realize that the mission of Israel is something more than a hackneyed phrase, that Judaism is worth living for, that it is not an accidental survival, but a faith whose tenets, once known, can command the fealty of the hosts who are groping for new spiritual truths. Even a cursory study of the mass of literature dealing with the religion of the future, reveals that it will be bereft of the very elements in the dominant religion which were most antithetic to Judaism, and which Judaism's followers for generations were alone in denying; to-day men are denying a place in the coming religion to the very dogmas which Jewry alone dared to question from the date of their enunciation. And the positive elements in the new religion which men are building are not unfamiliar to those who are acquainted with the religion of the prophets of Israel. Do you remember the account which H. G. Wells gives of his interview with David Lubin? "We are feeling our way towards a bigger rule", said Mr. Wells. "The rule of Righteousness", said Mr. Lubin. "I told him", continues Mr. Wells, "that I had been coming more and more to the idea . . . of the whole world as one state and community and of God as the King of that state." "But I say that", cried Mr. Lubin, "I have put my name to that. And . . . it is *here!*" He struggled up, seized an Old Testament that lay upon a side

table, and flung it upon the table. He stood over it and rapped its cover. "It is *here* in the Prophets."

We must make our youth sense the fact that by their loyalty to the faith of their fathers they strengthen the hands of those who are endeavoring to establish a religious system which will give men tangible ideals, which will end the reign of superstition, which will postulate a universal God as the Father of a universal humanity. We must make our youth realize, too, that this is the crucial period in the history of Judaism, that the hour has struck which will justify the martyrdom of the past,—that the time has come which will see the acceptance, avowed or unavowed, it makes little difference, of the religion of the synagog. As surely as the next generations hold fast to the spiritual truths of Judaism, proclaim them fearlessly, so surely will they find them becoming the common heritage of humanity.

It is deeply significant to us, as Jews, to note the frank admission of the revolution in Christian thought set forth a few weeks ago by Dr. Alexander Gillies: "There has been a steady and steadily increasing change of emphasis in the religious world from . . . the glories and horrors of the future to the problems and duties of the present; from religion as a personal oneness with a Divine Person to religion as the performance of a set of duties; from the subjective elements of a Christian experience to its objective manifestations, and especially to activity as a normal expression of faith; from the power of righteousness to flourish in and triumph over the most hostile environment to the necessity of a favorable environment for the growth of the spirit; from the salvation of the individual or any number of individuals to the salvation of society as a whole; and, in consequence of all this, from personal character to social righteousness or social justice."

True, there is a social as well as a spiritual reconstruction close at hand. Men are demanding, in tones that will not be denied, that social justice shall be one of the first tasks of the new era; their demand is fast becoming the great passion of the new day. Men are resolved that there shall be not only universal and lasting peace, but universal and enduring social righteousness. Of course, the demand for social reconstruction which

will end the injustices of the pre-war world is meeting with opposition from the reactionary camp; the ramparts of vested interests founded on special privilege and greedy exploitation, will not fall at the first blasts of the trumpets. All the forces of economic or industrial selfishness are being martialed to stem the tide of thorough-going social reform. What, here, is to be the role of the synagog? I do not plead that it should become a class institution or that it should sponsor any specific economic scheme. Its criticisms of existing social wrongs should be from the moral, rather than the economic end, approached from high spiritual ground rather than from the low plain of controversial economics. Nor do I desire to see the synagog occupy the safe territory of vague generalities, where it may prate sweet nothings. One of the keenest but friendliest critics of organized religion has well described the function of the religious institution in an age in which the issue of social justice is paramount; its peculiar duty, he says, is "to probe to the quick, to trouble people—let organized religion speak its own language—if bravely and consistently uttered, if faithfully obeyed, it will be found to correspond closely with economic theories widely at variance with those on which society now more or less uneasily reposes; and, under pressure from two diverse directions making for one same end, the world may find itself transformed".

I have no desire to see the synagog of the days beyond the war overemphasizing the social message at the expense of the spiritual, nor, on the other hand, overstressing the spiritual while under-rating the social; nor are these the only two alternatives which the synagog must face. But soldiers of the common good must realize that Judaism has a social as well as a spiritual tradition, that it has inspirational power for the man who is seeking to make "justice flow as water and righteousness as a perennial stream". Too many splendid men and women, eager not only to relieve the wretched, but to fight the causes of wretchedness, have imagined that they must find inspiration for their mission outside the synagog. The synagog of the new era must make a more conscious and deliberate effort than it ever has before, to link itself with the men and women earnestly seeking the redemption of society. In directing its energies into

these channels, the synagog suffers no embarrassment from any necessity of ignoring its previous professions; in the resolve to support with might and main the forces seeking to end social injustice, the synagog has no dogmas of asceticism, of individualism, of submission, of other-worldliness, which will have to be thrown on the theological scrap-heap. It has never asserted in suave accents that the poor we have with us always, and that organized religion's chief concern is the salvation of the individual soul. It has, on the contrary, historic traditions, reaching back to the days of the prophets and beyond. Rally it to the side of those forces which are committed to the dethronement of corruption and the enthronement of justice! The synagog of the days beyond the war must and will range itself with those who strive to eradicate social maladjustment, industrial oppression and political injustice. It must and will—because to do otherwise would mean that the synagog turns its back upon the eternal verities of righteous social relationships, which are the cardinal principles of the religion upon which the synagog is founded. It must and will if it is to be true to itself, for, as Dr. Kohler has pointed out in his latest volume: "Judaism finds its strength in the oft-repeated doctrine that the moral welfare of the world rests upon justice—and Judaism has been working through the centuries to realize the ideal of justice for all mankind". The church, on the other hand, always dedicated itself to the salvation of the individual soul, to the cure of souls, regarding each individual as a kind of spiritual phenomenon, living "wholly apart in a vacuum of its own creating, and presenting a spiritual problem to be considered upon its own particular merits, without any connection whatsoever with any extraneous circumstances or conditions". The church has always sought to save the individual entirely apart from any relation which he might have with the social whole. But the religion of individualism, in recent years, has suffered the same fate as the economics and the politics of individualism. The church, in consequence, is again faced with a difficult choice; it must either hold fast to the purely spiritual task of "saving the individual" and blind itself to the social evils which mould the man or woman to be redeemed, or abandon its tenet of the isolated soul,

and strive to save the individual by redeeming the world. The synagog, as I have tried to make clear, has no traditions to uproot; it is only maintaining its past professions when it links itself with those who are dedicating themselves to a program of social reconstruction which will abolish the intrenched wrongs of our social system. It is only loyal to Judaism at its best when it becomes an armory, where men come to equip themselves, and to be heartened for the bitter fight for justice and righteousness. I see the synagog entering into the struggle as it never has before. I see its leaders and their followers standing, not miles behind the fighting line, but in the front trenches. I see them accepting the teaching of the best social students of our age, that poverty rests not upon individual wickedness or inefficiency alone, but upon social maladjustment as well, and vowing that social conditions shall be so changed as to stamp out poverty for ever. I see them penetrating the domain of business, and demanding its complete moralization, entering the field of politics, ridding it of its foulness. In consecrating itself to the work of social reconstruction, the synagog of the days beyond the war will consider no phase of human life foreign, and will seek the banishment of its misery and the extermination of its abuses. In a word, the synagog will bridge the gap between the sacred and the secular, which, by the dictum of the dominant religion, has existed for too many centuries, and it will wed religion with life; it will become a militant agent for social justice, standing shoulder to shoulder with all other forces seeking a like end.

I am aware that this interpretation of the function of the synagog will meet with opposition, that there are those who will maintain that the synagog should busy itself with personal righteousness rather than social improvement, with theological speculation rather than social transgressions, with the holy rather than the profane, with things of the heaven above rather than the earth beneath. I know that there are laymen who infinitely prefer to hear the pulpit wax prolix upon the respective merits of orthodoxy or reform, and who shudder at the thought of a frank analysis of the relations of capital and labor. But I have faith that the leaders of the synagog will be unmoved by such

considerations; that they will see that the synagog of to-morrow, unless it is to be classed with the religious institutions which ignore the world which they pretend to serve, cannot and will not remain neutral in the battle for the social regeneration of society. What one of us will not align himself with our beloved J. Leonard Levy, who said a short time before his death: "Our views of economics may vary according to our different dispositions; yet no man, in whom is a particle of moral power, but will admit that it is our duty, our highest duty as Americans, and more especially as Americans of Jewish faith, to see that conditions are changed in harmony with the principles of justice". And to change conditions necessitates the descent into the arena where the struggle is to be waged which shall insure the triumph of right over wrong; it means the girding of loins for a bitter contest, the transition from the comfortable role of detached onlooker to the dangerous, but perhaps heroic character of participant.

For centuries we have heard it proclaimed that justice is not only an integral part, but the very heart, of the Jewish mission. Now the opportunity has come really to promulgate our doctrine to a receptive world. To promulgate it, not merely by harking back to the ancient prophets as the first tribunes of the people and the first seers of a world in which justice would be the universal law, but by making the synagog the outstanding religious institution which calls on men to make justice part and parcel of daily life. Let me read the admission of a non-Jew which presents the present situation as a challenge: "The old church with its creeds and liturgies, its revivals and prayer meetings, its confessions and conversions, is dead—hopelessly dead—rightly dead. And the world is waiting for the new church—Christian or non-Christian, it cares not for the name—which shall embody the new and true religion of social idealism, social consecration, social service; the church which shall care—not for emancipating men from sin, but for emancipating them from the conditions of life and labor which make sin inevitable; not for saving a soul, but for saving the society which moulds the soul for eternal good or ill. This is the new church which the world will attend and support and cherish, and no other". There

are multitudes seeking such a church to-day; there are multitudes who have cut themselves aloof from church and synagog because they have not found any religious institution which meets their hearts' desire. And yet these standards are not new; on the contrary, they are very, very old. They are standards which were set up by no less an exponent of social religion, than Isaiah; for are not the words which I have quoted but a paraphrase of his: "Is not this the fast that I would choose? To open the snares of wickedness, to undo the bands of the yoke, and to let the oppressed go free? and that ye break asunder every yoke. Is it not to distribute thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the afflicted poor into thy house? When thou seest the naked that thou clothe him; and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh"? and Isaiah only re-echoes his entire class when he defines true religion in terms which sound strangely familiar to ears ready to hear the plea for social justice to-day; prophet after prophet, looking out upon a world in which corruption and injustice were rampant, anathematized the conservatives who circumscribed the bounds of religion, and preached instead a religion which took cognizance of the social ills and woes of the times, and warred against them.

The same situation confronts us to-day. The war has left in its train a contest between those who long for a new heaven and a new earth, in which "the monstrous inequality of circumstances and the degradation and brutalization, both moral and spiritual, resulting therefrom" will be unknown, and those entrenched interests which are pledged to the preservation of the old evils and the old abuses. What will be the attitude of the synagog? If it is mindful of the choice which the prophets made under similar conditions, it will bring every ounce of its strength to the support of those who are writing a new social charter for humanity.

The best method of approach to the next phase of our subject is to visualize one of the huts that dotted the great cantonments of the American Expeditionary Force, here and abroad. What were these huts? They were miniature shrines where men came, not only for prayer and worship, but for fellowship and recreation, for counsel and personal service; these huts ministered to

the spiritual and social needs of the men in uniform; the camp rabbi was not only the preacher, but the confidant, the friend, the big brother of the soldiers. The huts were not only temples; they performed the functions of settlements, Young Men's Hebrew Associations, clubs, theatres, forums. The preachments of the rabbi or the chaplain about brotherhood, mutual aid and service, were embodied in the very institution where these messages were given; religion was translated into life before the very eyes of the auditors. And the men *knew* they were wanted; they were sought daily and made to feel a proprietary share in the camp-temple. And when they came, they found no seats reserved; they found no condescension; they found no distinctions of any kind whatsoever; the atmosphere radiated friendliness. The result was that often men who had been completely estranged from the synagog, or were altogether indifferent to Judaism at home, came under the influence of a rabbi or chaplain for the first time in their lives; the result was that thousands of young men who were merely racial Jews before donning the uniform, are now linked with their people by the tie of religion.

The synagogs of the days beyond the war must profit by this experience. In the past, too many of them have been ministering purely and simply to their own membership; too many have been content to work upon a part time basis, defining their functions in terms of religious services and religious education alone, or, at best, offering some occasional social entertainments for their own membership. Frankly, they have too frequently been class institutions and, in consequence, we have in every large Jewish community thousands of unaffiliated youth whom the synagog has never made any serious effort to attract or to serve. The synagog has left these young people to purely secular organizations like the Y. M. or Y. W. H. A. where, as Prof. Mordecai Kaplan has pointed out, "they are for the most part in the hands of social workers who look upon Judaism as a misfortune, and who would manifest their love for the beneficiaries by easing them of what appears to be an unnecessary burden." At best, they have helped to promote and conserve that vague emotion which we term Jewish consciousness. The war institutionalized

many synagogs which hitherto had been utterly devoid of communal ministrations: in almost every city where soldiers and sailors were mobilized the synagog became a social and recreational center. Now that the war is over, is the synagog to revert to its former aloofness? Was it enlisted only for the duration of the war? The little hut in the cantonment is to my mind the ideal pattern for the synagog of the future; and, unless our Jewish young men who found therein the spiritual and social ministrations which they craved, will find the peace-time synagog equipped with the same resources, they will become as alien in the future as they have been in the past.

I am aware that this program will meet with opposition. I know that there are some who insist that the worlds of social service and spiritual culture are two totally disparate spheres. But I, like many others, hold that religion cannot contain itself or be contained within synagog walls, within the bounds of theology, within the mechanism of ritual or ceremonial; I hold with that pioneer of social religion who said that "the efficiency of organized religion is to be tested by the extent to which social conditions and town government make it easier to be good and harder to be bad." When the socialized synagog transforms its vestry rooms into a dance-hall to compete with the vicious centers formerly frequented by a city's youth, when it maintains a social worker to aid in the reclamation of delinquent boys or girls, when it provides a forum for the open discussion of civil or national questions, when it plays an active part in the struggle for better housing, clean water and pure milk, decent government, child protection and the like, it is performing a genuine religious function; golden instincts cannot come from leaden lives, roses do not grow in muck-heaps . . . therefore every effort to annihilate the forces which drag men downwards helps to raise them Godwards. The days before the war, when too many people were starved by want or corrupted by luxury, ground down by poverty or overwhelmed by riches indicated a social maladjustment which men are now resolved to end for ever. They are rightly demanding an opportunity to earn and possess enough to elevate them out of that degrading poverty, which makes life a dreary tragedy. The social demands of our time take their

rise in something more than the jealousy of the "have nots" towards the "haves"; they are grounded on the genuinely spiritual conception that there are certain things in life, running the gamut from physical health at the one extreme to love and consecration at the other, which alone makes life worth living, and which every human being must at least have a fair opportunity to obtain. Men have rightly concluded that as society has been organized in the past, millions of their kind, despite faithful and unremitting diligence, never can grasp the essentials which distinguish "living" from "existing". At the bottom of the new social demand is the justifiable desire that the social system of the future shall be so reconstructed that no man, woman or child shall be denied "a ray of sunlight, a breath of fresh air, a decent home, leisure for rest and recreation, the satisfaction of the love-hunger of the heart." From this angle, the social movement is transformed from a mere question of economics, to an issue of ethics and religion; for the problem of moral rectitude and spiritual well-being is united indissolubly with that of economic independence.

I am not urging that the synagog shall be transformed into a settlement house, that its fundamental spiritual aim shall be subordinated to social effort. Prayer and worship are still to be its paramount concerns; as in the past, it shall summon its people to ponder the great themes of spiritual truth and spiritual life. But I look for the time when it will assemble its adherents for the work of service with almost equal regularity and with an equal sense of high and holy duty. Is such a program inconsistent with tradition? Dr. Kohler seems to answer this very question in no uncertain terms in his book on *Jewish Theology*: "The idea of interdependence and reciprocal duty among all members of the human family," he says, "forms the outstanding characteristic of Jewish ethics. For it is far more concerned in the welfare of society than in that of the individual, and demands that those endowed with fortune should care for the unfortunate, the strong for the weak, and those blessed with vision for the blind." The synthesis of religion and social service may be new to the followers of a religion, which from the beginning was primarily seeking the salvation of the indi-

vidual soul, but it is no revolutionary idea for the professors of our faith. "Whoever rejects loving service of his fellow-men rejects the root of religion," taught one of the sages. And the whole history of the synagog as an institution bears witness to this close relation which Judaism has always maintained between religion and human service. The synagog was always something more than a center of prayer and study; it always ministered to the poor, the feeble, and the stranger. "On three things every synagog stood: *"torah, abodah,* and *gemiluth ḥasadim*—Education, Worship and Beneficence."

And if authority is desired to justify the entrance of the synagog, and more particularly the pulpit, into the industrial and political and social life of the community, I need only recall to you the lives of the prophets. Veritable messengers of God, they assailed the evils of their day from a conviction which regarded every question between men as a moral question; they were never content to castigate evil in the individual or wrong in the abstract, but arraigned any social institution—economic, political or social—which clashed with their ideals of moral rectitude or divine justice. And when they saw the classes exploiting the masses, or noted corruption in high places, they felt it part of their divine commission to pronounce against them in terms not characterized by ambiguity or anonymity. And they justified their diatribes against social wrong and predatory unrighteousness by declaring themselves spokesmen of a God of justice, whose realm embraced the material as well as the spiritual. Such utterances took courage; such preachments were unwelcome; too often they fell on deaf ears, too often the false prophets offset the true by denying the veracity of their accusations or by belittling their authority; too often the people preferred the preachers of honeyed words and soft phrases. Small wonder that an Isaiah commanded in despair: "Now go, write it down, inscribe it in a scroll, that it may serve as a lasting testimony in the days to come; for it is a rebellious people, faithless sons are they, sons who will not hear the revelation of God, who say to the seers, 'See not,' and to the prophets, 'Do not prophesy to us the truth! Speak to us flatteries, prophesy delusions! Get out of our way, begone from our path! Leave

us in peace about the Holy One of Israel!'" History will repeat itself; a synagog or a pulpit dedicated to the championship of social justice in the concrete rather than the abstract will be arming itself for a battle in which no quarter will be given; it will be a task, however, that will be worthy of its steel. And it will have the proud consciousness, throughout the long ordeal, of fighting a good fight in a cause which has always marshalled the noblest spirits of the race.

I have no doubt of the choice that the synagog will make. For more than a decade the American synagog has been remoulding the institutions and ideals of Reform Judaism to meet the new demands of the times. The synagog, open one day in seven for religious services and another for religious instruction, with portals shut the remainder of the time is fast becoming the solitary exception. More and more the synagog has been reaching out to serve the community as well as the congregation. But here and there are still centers of reaction which need to be stormed and conquered before the synagog can come into its own; here and there are still controlling forces which would harness the institutional synagog to the service of the congregation rather than the community, indifferent to the fact that such a policy makes the synagog liable to the charge of being a class institution.

I have not lost sight of the ultimate task of the synagog—the ministrations to the spiritual needs of men. The war has only deepened this need. It has brought about not only a critical analysis of century-old theologies, a sterner demand for the intertwining of religion with life, but also a widespread quickening of simple faith. The war has overturned the creeds, but it has strengthened and revived men's assurance in a Power beyond themselves that makes for righteousness. Not only the men on the fighting front, aware that any moment may see them hurled into eternity, but the hosts behind the battle-fronts, enduring, sacrificing, companioned by anxiety, have searched after and found the Great Comrade. H. G. Wells, the religious iconoclast of the days before the war, is only typical of countless thousands to whom the war has revealed God, the Invisible King. Out of the bloody hell of the trenches, out of the muck and

mire of battle, has come an unquenchable faith in God, the Comrade, which has been a pillar of smoke by day and a pillar of fire by night. To myriads there have come for the first time intimations of the unseen, an inarticulate religion which is akin to the instinctive, uninstructed gropings of a little child; they are eager for guidance and council about this new light which they perceive as yet but dimly, but of whose existence they are firmly, unshakeably convinced. There has been a rediscovery of God; a spiritual renaissance on the part of humanity; God has been found to be a "refuge and strength, a very present help in time of trouble."

In the presence of a demand for reality like this, the old wranglings and controversies about form and ritual, the ancient polemics over the authority of the spoken or written word must cease; first things must be first and irrelevancies must be subdued. Debates as to the respective merits of orthodoxy, conservatism or reform must come to an end, and be supplanted by the preachment of religion, pure and undefiled. In the presence of a great, universal longing for spiritual assurance, the synagog must dwell on the great religious ultimates, the things that cannot be shaken; it must make audible that still, small voice, for which men are hearkening as never before now that the earthquake and the storm have passed. Again must be heard the psalmists' inspiring strains quick with the thought of a God controlling the issues of life and death, a shepherd to His people, an unshakeable rock in the midst of a world that passes away.

I have tried to outline the three-fold function of the synagog in the days beyond the war. I have portrayed it as setting itself seriously and deliberately to the proclamation of religious truth as it perceives it, as upholding the hands of those who struggle for the reign of justice and righteousness, as buoying up those whose hearts are aglow with the new spiritual hope. In accepting these obligations, I hold that the synagog will be true, not only to its own historic mission, but to those who have made the supreme sacrifice in the Great Adventure. These men perished in the hope of a nobler mankind; they died for a world in which justice would be sovereign and in which God would be

the only king. This was their dream and their vision; ours the duty to acquit ourselves like men in the effort to make their dreams come true.

DISCUSSION

DR. ALFRED FRIEDLANDER

In reference to the very excellent paper which we have heard, I wish to say I want to discuss only one thing. It seems to me the time has come when both the pulpit and the laity should come together in the discussion of social adjustment. We have just passed through an amazing crisis, the like of which the world has never seen, and have had before us one of the wonders of the world, wherein ten million men or more were called by their country to go forth to battle and perhaps to death. These men were assembled in camps, and many of them were from districts where there was no such thing as education. We who were in the camps gathered an amazing lot of information about the men. For instance, we found when they had the first draft, that thirty-three percent of the men between 21 and 33 years of age were unfit for military service because of physical disability—a perfectly astounding fact that no one ever realized before. After we put the men in the camps through a test, we found the average age of the men in camps, measured by their mental status, was twelve years. And this was the average for the entire army of the United States, in a country where education was supposed to be universal and compulsory. That was a point to stagger any one.

Next we discovered it was possible to control the great enemies of civilization—at least some of them—in the shape of communicable diseases, because, for the first time in history it was possible for a well defined experiment in preventative medicine to be carried out. I ask you for a moment to contrast the death rate from disease in the Spanish-American war with the death rate from typhoid fever in the last war. Excepting the deaths in battle, it was five-fold. There was no such thing as typhoid in our camps. It was discovered that many diseases

could be controlled and eliminated, once the principles of preventative medicine could be carried out.

One must conceive of all army cantonments as miniature cities. Not so small at that, because fifty thousand men will make a very fair sized city. And if it is possible to do this thing inside the camps, it is possible to do it outside.

I am here to say, speaking in behalf of preventative medicine, that it is not only possible, but the demand is here. Men who have been in camps on the one hand and the people who have seen and appreciate what has been done, will demand that the work go forward. And if the work is to go forward, if real social adjustment is to come, we shall need the help of every possible available person. That is the real purpose of the message I have. It would ill become me to speak to such an assemblage on matters other than my profession.

I want to say perhaps there is no method that will help us to bring together capital and labor more than this practical social adjustment of giving men the right to earn a livelihood under good conditions of health. Without health there can be no happiness or decent living. With health, practically anything can be accomplished. Men who have work to do are finding this out and they are going to demand it as their right. The men who employ labor will find that it pays. It pays to look into the lives of men; it pays to look into their working conditions; it pays in dollars and cents if you will, to see that they have decent housing and food, a hygienic work shop and proper living conditions. These must be looked after. The labor turn-over is tremendously cut down by this. It pays, gentlemen, to remember that prevention in medicine is worth more than the cure.

Nine hundred and forty-eight people died in Cincinnati last year of tuberculosis. If that number of mules were to die, the government would have taken steps to overcome the condition. Being merely humans, practically no attention was paid to it. There are in Cincinnati, twenty-seven thousand Jews; roughly speaking, seven percent of the population of the city. On the basis of nine hundred and forty-eight deaths, the Jewish population was entitled to sixty-five deaths. We lost in Cincinnati last year, two Jews of tuberculosis. If the same proportion had been

maintained throughout the city, there would have been thirty deaths instead of nine hundred and forty-eight. The answer to this is perfectly simple. He has no better housing condition than the others. This represents twenty years of intensive social adjustment by the United Jewish Charities; represents work that can be multiplied, and when this fact becomes known, it will be multiplied.

In this work, the synagog and the men who preside over it, must come in and do their share. They must be not only the spiritual leaders, but they must be in the fight that must be waged against disease, because if this fight is successfully waged against disease, we are going to settle, and settle for all time the grave questions of social mal-adjustment which perturb us now.

Just so far as the ministers do this work, in just so far I think, they will fulfil the important function of their mission. If they fail, they will not reach the high ideal they have set for themselves.

O

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

William Howard Taft

I esteem it a great honor to be invited to address this Conference and this audience. Your meeting is held at this date in honor of Rabbi Wise, to celebrate his hundredth year. I, in my boyhood, was taught by my father to respect and revere Rabbi Wise. My father and his family attended a church across the street from the temple of Dr. Wise, and the ministers exchanged pulpits. It was my good fortune later, when I grew older and was associated with the University of Cincinnati, to come in personal contact with Rabbi Wise, and to know how great a man he was and how great a movement he founded. It is because of my intimate personal knowledge that I deem this opportunity to speak tonight, an especial privilege. I deem it a privilege, too, to speak in a church, because the strength of the League of Nations is to be found in the religious spirit which has been awakened by this war, and which is manifesting itself in a demand that the nations shall depart from the cruel method of settling their differences, and establish some machinery by which war may be avoided. I perhaps may be pardoned if I lapse into a personal moment, when I say I suppose it was my judicial experience that years ago led me to feel that it was a blot upon civilization that the civilized nations of the world, with high ideals, tender in many ways, looking to preserve life—helping on human life—could not, in any way reach an agreement between themselves by which they could settle their differences otherwise than by killing one another. And so, in an administration that you have forgotten (and I have almost forgotten), we got up some universal arbitration treaties with England and

France, by which it was agreed that the contracting parties would submit all justiciable differences—whether they were of honor or what not—to an international court. We had machinery to determine what a justiciable question was. The contracting parties covenanted to abide by a decision of that machinery.

The treaties were sent to the Senate with great hopefulness, and they came back, battered and truncated with amendments in a form that their parent could not recognize them. Now the attitude of the Senate towards the treaties was rather discouraging. They assumed that all other nations were plotting against us; that they were dealing with "bunco steerers", and that no confidence was to be placed in other nations. I think that spirit is not a progressive one. We are not the only nation that is honest—we are not the only nation with high ideals. Therefore, why not deal with other nations as if we were on the level? Confidence is the basis of living in a community, among individuals. Why should we not have confidence in the family of nations between one another and proceed on that basis with reasonable protection against the defect or the violation of faith of one or another member?

In spite of our defeat in the Senate, there were a number of gentlemen who had supported these treaties, that, when this war came on, thought they saw another opportunity to propose something that would be important when the occasion for its adoption should arise. They thought the close of this war would have such an educational effect upon the peoples of the nations engaged in it, that they would be looking about, anxious to accept some machinery by agreement, which should avoid a recurrence of the dreadful suffering and this human disaster, through which we have gone. And so we organized a League to Enforce Peace, so-called, in Philadelphia, with four or five hundred interested in the subject, who met there. This League provided a platform with four planks. The platform recommended that the United States, at the end of the war, should enter a League of Nations, the members of which should be bound by four stipulations. The first was one they should submit all justiciable questions to an international court; the second, that they should submit ques-

tions not justiciable, to a council of conciliation. Each of these tribunals should hear the differences and proceed, one to the judgment and the other to a recommendation of settlement. The third provision was that any member nation of the League who sought to start war before the submission of their wrongs and judgment should be restrained by all the other members of the League—by economies, pressure and by force, if necessary. The fourth was that a congress should be held to improve and codify international law. The result of that was that a similar association was organized in Great Britain. Indeed, they have two there. They adopted programs a little more ambitious than ours. Later on, an association was organized in France, and then, at the instance of these associations, the British Government and the French Government appointed official commissions to consider the question of the League of Nations, and formulate a plan for such a League to be presented to the governments. Our government did not pursue that policy. Mr. Ribot, of France, asked that we appoint a commission, but it was not thought wise. The result was the definite plans which were considered at Paris, came from the British and French. Gen. Smuts, a man of great ability, prepared a report on the subject. In that report, while it had much more scope than ours, he adopted the general principles of the League to Enforce Peace. If you examine the present covenant, it follows in some respects Gen. Smut's report. This is supposed to have a sinister significance, but has none, except that we had no distinct plan, and our representatives thought it wise to consult these different plans and united with the other nations to select the covenant now before us.

Now what is the covenant? It presents four great steps toward the avoidance of war and the making of peace permanent. Four steps, greater than any taken by nations in recorded history. I would like to take them up separately.

The first is Article VIII, which provides that the Executive Council of the League, which I shall describe later, shall consist of nine members, of which we have one, each looking over the field with a military commission to determine how the armaments of the world shall be reduced, and shall divide and assign

the limits, so to speak, having regard to the exposed condition of each nation and having regard to its obligation under the League. They are to get up a general plan of proportionate reduction and then present it to the nations, and the nations are to agree on the respective limits which they will adopt. And when they have agreed on the limit they will adopt, they covenant to abide by that limit until the Executive Council,—representing in a way all the members of the League—shall consent to the raising of that limit. In other words, the limitation continues after we have agreed to it, although there is no one to fix it for us, but only to recommend it to us. After considering it all, if we agreed to it, this limit is not to be raised until practically all the nations agree to its being raised.

Now, one of the great causes of war has been competitive armament. Forty years ago Germany entered upon a plan which should put her in possession of an army and equipment that would enable her to dominate the world. Her example started the rest of the nations to defend themselves. So they went on by competition from year to year, increasing the conscription, increasing the equipment, increasing the armament, until that armament became so great—until Germany felt that she was the leader in the race, and could no longer resist the temptation to use that armament for the purpose for which it had been originally devised. The temptation to war came, and she yielded. The other nations, as I say, followed her, but not as effectively.

What was the injury? First was the enormous burden of taxation on the poor peoples of all the countries engaged in that competitive armament during the times of peace. Second, was the temptation to war, for it was one of the controlling reasons that led to the great war. Third, it was the destructiveness of this war which competitive armament had brought about. Every one has recognized that competitive armament is one of the burdens of the human race; every one has admitted that, in some way it must be restrained. How are we going to restrain it? By wishing that it may be restrained? By praying to Germany that she shall restrain it? We tried that at the Hague and it failed. How can we restrain it? We have Germany now where we can make her restrain it. We, the nations that are

making this peace, can only restrain ourselves by an agreement between us that it shall be restrained. Is there any other method, —I would like to ask the objectors to this League whether there is any other method of cutting down armament to a proportionate reduction, than by agreement? Ah, but it is said it will deprive us—these scheming nations on the other side, with their desire to destroy us, are going to get us to consent to a reduction so that we will be naked to our enemies. Well, if they can consent to a reduction in armament in the neighborhood where the danger lies, cannot we consent to a reduction at this distance, with the Atlantic and the Pacific between us and these other nations who would attack us?

Really, this fear, that this limitation of armament is going to endanger us, has a humoresque aspect in this, that the trouble has been in the past that we never could get armament enough—never could get Congress to realize we needed armament at all. The difficulty will not be to keep under the limit; where they would embarrass us would be to make a required armament for us. That fear is born of a desire to create objection.

Now either we have this, or we have competitive armament. It is one thing or the other, my friends. Either we have an agreement by which it is to be limited, or else we go on in the same old round, first with the burden and then with the temptation, and then war when opportunity affords, and a truculent nation uses that opportunity.

And the next war is going to be, if it comes, as much more destructive than this war was, as this war was more destructive than the last, for if you turn human ingenuity and continue it in the path of detecting the means of destroying people, there is no limit to which it can go. Had this war continued for two years longer it would have shown inventions horrible in their destructive effect, and if we have another war, we may look to that development of gases, use of the air, explosives and the direction of explosives in such a way as to destroy whole peoples instead of armies.

The next great step is contained in Article X. That provides that the members of the League undertake to respect and preserve, against external aggression, the territorial integrity and

the political independence, of each member of the League. First, it is against external aggression. I have to take up these objections as they come along, and I observe that one distinguished gentleman has sought to arouse Irish opposition by the statement that Article X would require us, if Ireland revolted against England, to send our forces over there to bring Ireland into English control again. This is interesting, but it is not true. The covenant is against external aggression, used, of course, to avoid the very suggestion that we should be obliged to interfere with internal affairs of a country and suppress revolution against the government. As to that, to use a very homely expression, the governments that have revolutions are to attend to them themselves. They are not the business of the League.

What is this covenant? It is the heart of the League. It is said to be rigid and it attracted the attention of Mr. Justice Hughes, and he thinks it should be eliminated. I think, if it is taken out of the League, it would greatly weaken it. What is it? It is the answer to the German spirit in this country; it is the guarantee of the nations to suppress the violator of the great commandment of international law, "Thou shalt not steal". It is the answer to the German proposition that Might makes Right.

Now it is objected to, first, by distinguished gentlemen, on the ground that in times past we have made civilized progress by taking Texas and California and a lot of other property and making things better by our possession of them. Doubtless this is true, and I am not here to say that war has not been a means of improvement, but I am here to say with this last development of war we have reached a stage in history where people of the world are convinced that war is not the best method of improvement. Of course, if you thing conquest is necessary, if you think might does make right for certain purposes, so we cannot limit ourselves and ought not to, then you are not in favor of the League of Nations. But I join issue right there. If we are in favor of the spirit of conquest, then we cannot restrain other people from entertaining that same spirit. We cannot say to Germany, you are waging war against the independence and freedom of the world and we will resist you to the end.

Now it is further objected that this covenant will drag us into war—into war everywhere. The imagination of the objectors just pictures our boys, each month, or each six months, being called to arms, to go out to this quarter of the globe or that, and maintain a war in which we have no interest. Of course we cannot make an omelette without breaking eggs. We cannot have and use the united forces of the world to suppress war without having that force as a background, and without contributing our share, if we are one of the partners. This theory that we can make a League of Nations which does not bind us to anything except good resolutions, and only binds the other fellow, is a misconception of the word League. The etymology of the word means something which binds nations. That is the meaning of the word League. Therefore, of course, we have to contribute our share. The general operation of the League is not going to be the exercise of force or of imposition or penalty; it is to issue a threat or warning, when it has knowledge of the part of the would-be violator of the covenant of the League, as to what he is certainly up against, if I am to use that colloquial expression, if he does violate the covenants.

We have policemen in Cincinnati. They are not always arresting people, not always hammering heads with clubs, or shooting revolvers. Most of them go through a month with very little activity. You say why don't we economize then and only employ those who demonstrate, by shooting their revolvers, that they are really essential? It is only because their presence, without any exercise of force, is what maintains the law. They are there, and with their uniform and brass buttons, add to the picturesqueness of the landscape. They serve to illustrate that line of Milton's "They also serve who only stand and wait".

That is the way with the League. Knowledge that the League will take steps by universal boycott, and by force, if necessary, by the overwhelming forces of all the united nations, to punish one who violates its covenant, will prevent the necessity for the exercise of either the boycott or the force. Why you don't have to guess at it—you don't have to infer it from mere reasoning. In 1823 we were threatened on this side with an invasion of the western hemisphere by the whole of the allies,

wanting to restore to Spain her revolting colonies whom we had recognized as independent. We were frightened by it; we didn't know what that combination of nations might do. The matter was given grave consideration. Thomas Jefferson and James Madison were called into counsel with President Monroe and John Calhoun, who bitterly opposed the Monroe Doctrine, as it was subsequently called. Mr. Jefferson advised that we enter with England in an agreement to unite to resist the whole of the allies coming here, and there were statesmen who said it would not do; it would involve us in war and we ought not issue that declaration.

Consider that we were not a powerful nation such as we are now. But what happened? We issued that declaration in a message from the President to Congress, in which we notified the world, especially the powerful European nations that we did not intend to permit any European nation to come over here and take the territory, or upset the political independence of any nation on this side of the water in this western hemisphere. We have asserted that doctrine ever since, and in that time, nearly one hundred years, we have never been called upon to fire a shot and never lost a single man in the constant maintenance of that doctrine.

Now if that be the result with the threat of only one nation on this side, what may we not expect from a union of all the nations of the world in this League, when we say to any nation who violates the covenant that we propose to penalize you, first, with boycott and then with our united force, the force of all the nations, if necessary. We shall not have war under those circumstances.

One distinguished Senator intimates this will involve us in particular with the far flung empire of Great Britain. Well, I don't know—perhaps the Senator knows more history than I do—but I don't recall any nation in one hundred years that has tried to attack the political independence of England or her integrity. It may be, but it doesn't occur to me just now. Great Britain is able to defend herself. This Article X is to protect small nations against larger nations. The big nations can usually take care of themselves.

All these suggestions, when you come to analyze them and see what they are, illustrate the poverty in argument there is against the League. But, it says, if war does come, we shall have to send our soldiers clear around the world. If it is a big war that interests us, if Germany is attacking France again, and there is a combination of such nations as there was in this war, then we shall want to be in it and we ought to be in it.

But, if it is a smaller nation which is the offender, I think that nation will bow to the threat of the boycott that will ostracize it from the world, and, dependent as such nations necessarily are on their connection with the world for food and business, I think a dose of boycott will do the work.

But, if force has to be used, the Executive Council is to recommend what the force shall be. In that Executive Council we have one representative out of the nine—and as I construe the League, that where a majority controls, there must be unanimous action of that Executive Council. You will find that in the suggestion of Lord Cecil on the subject that he made at the time the League was recommended by the committee. And, if it is unanimous, as I think it is, then we can count on a reasonable proportion—I mean a reasonable distribution of the burden to the nations to whom it is most convenient to make the attack, and therefore, we shall not be called upon to do all the work as you would think from the objectors, but will be called upon only to do our share in maintaining this covenant, which is most imperative in the maintenance of decent, international law.

The third step is the covenant of the members of the League to settle their differences peaceably, by the machinery provided in the League, if it is possible. If it fail, then they are not permitted to begin war to enforce any of their claimed rights until three months after the failure. The means of settlement is by arbitration, but if, to either party this arbitration is not a proper method, then, as a matter of course it comes to mediation by either the Executive Council or the body of delegates. They are to hear the case as a court would hear it, on submitted evidence and briefs; they are to attempt to induce the parties to agree. If they do, all right; if they don't, then they are to

make recommendations of settlement. If the Executive Council or the body of Delegates, as the case may be, makes a unanimous recommendation, then they are to take up the measure recommended—measures to be taken to carry out their recommendation of settlement. The covenant against war is that the members of the League agree not to begin war until three months after an award, or three months after a report of settlement, and not then, if the party against whom the award has been made or against whom the settlement has been recommended, shall have complied with the terms of their award or settlement. Either party may carry the case to the body of Delegates.

Who are the body of delegates? Who the Executive Council? The Executive Council is made up of nine members, one from the United States, one from France, one from Italy, one from Japan, and one from the British Empire and four from four countries to be selected by the body of delegates—the countries to be selected, not the delegates. From four other nations it said, therefore, they are to be selected from nations other than the five. There is the insinuation that this is a great spider web; that Great Britain is getting us into it to involve us, and then pick us to pieces. Where does that insinuation rest? First in the suggestion that this League is of British origin. I have given you the history and how it happened. The second, that, in the selection of the body of delegates, there is opportunity to have the Dominion of Canada and Australia and other self-governing parts of Great Britain, represented as one of the nations or countries.

The body of delegates is to consist of fourteen members who are now making the peace. They are the nations that were at war with Germany; the seven who carried on actual war and the other seven who declared war.

Then there is to be a protocol of nations to be invited to adhere to the League, to be prepared at the time the treaty is signed. Then the body of delegates, by two-thirds vote, is authorized to admit to membership in the League, any other nation provided that nation complies with the obligation imposed on it with respect to armament, and provided it shows a spirit of acquiescent willingness to perform the obligations of the League.

That, of course, is shutting out Germany. It does not propose to have Germany come in until she brings forth works meet for repentance.

The body of delegates has only a few functions to perform; the admission of members and then the mediating function, in which, if it acts effectively, it must be unanimous. Therefore, if England were to have two or three colonial representatives as well as her own, it would not contribute to the unanimity of the body of delegates or render their function any more under the control of Great Britain, than if she only had one representative. The truth is, colonial delegates, if admitted, (I am assuming the case) frequently have shown a disposition to vote against Great Britain; at least, the members they have in the conference, and in the presence of Mr. Hughes, were the most vociferous objectors. The rather unimportant function the body of delegates performs, renders that possibility of more votes for Great Britain than for any other nation, really not very dangerous, especially in view of the fact suggested by Dr. Lowell that we may be supposed to have a considerable influence among the persons in the League hailing from the western hemisphere, and especially those within our kindly influence, such as Panama and Cuba. I would feel quite certain that Panama and Cuba would vote with us—I think even a little more certain—than that Australia and Canada would vote with Great Britain. In other words, it is a very small foundation on which to build the charge that this is England's scheme to entangle us.

Now the third step is not complete in its results. It is not war proof and we hear these gentlemen that object to the League, object because it is not war proof. I agree. I agree that it is not as war proof as the League to Enforce Peace would have been in the provision for settling dispute. That was not completely war proof. But we must get at this gradually; we cannot get a perfect instrument at once. We have to try experiments with it. If there is power of amendment in the League,—and if there were not, there would be power to agree to or on changes, whether there was amendment in it or not. It is a great step forward and I am trying to explain what the steps are. Because there is war in spite of the League, there is

no reason why we should not adopt it, and thank God that nations have adopted it to this extent. The objection comes with bad grace from those who attack the League and say it should not exist at all.

The fourth great step is open diplomacy. Every treaty made heretofore, that conflicts with the obligation of the members of the League is to be changed. Every treaty hereafter made is to be recorded in the secretariat of the League, so every one may know what it is that binds the nations, and they covenant not to make any treaty in conflict with the obligation of members of the League.

Those four great steps, it seems to me, are such an advance, such a helpful means of avoiding war, that we should seize the opportunity—that we should rejoice in our hearts that the nations have come to agree under the necessities of the situation on something—I think they never would have agreed on, but for the lesson of this war and the circumstances that present themselves just now.

One other feature I should speak on. I have been dealing with the members of the League, but the members are not the only people that can make war. The truth is, outside the membership are many countries from whom we fear war. What will we do about them? Well, the provision is in Article XVII and I think it fairly well drawn. It is that when any member of the League gets into a quarrel with a non-member, or when any two non-members get into a quarrel, the Executive Council is going to invite them to become temporary members of the League for the purpose of settling that trouble. If they respond to the invitation and the thing is setled, well and good. If they do not respond to the invitation and do then violate any covenant, then they will be treated as though they were members and had violated a covenant, and so brought within the punitive operations of the League. We let them in for their own benefit, and for the benefit of the world, and we use the power of the League against them by boycott, and by force, if necessary, in order to restrain their beginning war.

Then there is a provision to which objection has been made that mandatories are to be created of the countries, members of

the League, who are to administer backward countries, or countries not thought fit for independence, or carry on autonomies, in other words.

I was making a speech one night on this subject, and I forgot about mandatories. (Great objection was made to that on the ground that it would drag us in to administer Armenia, Palestine and Constantinople, and involve us in a great deal of trouble and require us to send two hundred thousand men every little while. There is no obligation in the League for us to become mandatory.) After my speech, I met a gentleman who is a Princeton graduate—who is mayor of a city in New Jersey—and he said, "You didn't say anything about mandatories." I said, "No, I didn't think it was important." "Well," said he, "How are you going to avoid our sending armies over there to administrate Palestine and the rest?" I said that we don't have to; that there was no obligation on our part to become mandatory. "Well," said he, "How do you explain the word; doesn't that mean we have to?" "Why", I said, "My dear friend, mandatory is the civil law equivalent for 'trustee'. It means that a man acts under a trust, and that's all. Where a man is appointed a mandatory, if he accepts it, he acts as trustee and the expression 'mandatory' has no relation to accepting a duty. It is used only in the meaning of agent or of trustee." Now what are you going to do, when college graduates take the word mandatory and believe that imposes on the United States an obligation to send two hundred thousand men to administrate Asia Minor. The objection is made, (and I can see the reasonableness of the objection to our going so far), but the point is this: there is no obligation in the League for us to accept the position of the mandatory. It is open to us to do so and it well may be that we shall think it wise—that it is our duty in some cases to accept, but the League doesn't impose it on us.

Now I come to the objections. The first one is that we ought to postpone this to a more leisurely time, when we can hold an academic convention and go over and discuss it at great length as to just what it ought to be, and that meanwhile we ought to make a Peace treaty and settle up and begin reconstruction, and have the President come back to his job and let business go on.

Well, I agree. If this League is to be treated as a fad, if it can be postponed,—if the pressure for the peace treaty is so great, then it ought to be. But, my friends, that is not the fact. The situation is that you cannot make that peace treaty unless you do have a League. It is not a mere academic question. That peace treaty has got to be enforced; has got to be executed. You cannot sign a peace treaty and then run away and have it execute itself. Certainly not this one.

Here are five great powers sitting in Paris. And what are they confronted with? They are confronted with the necessity of a treaty that contemplates rearranging the map of Europe, and rearranging it under the terms of the armistice. And what are they to create? Create a new Finland, the Baltic Provinces, Poland and the Ukrania—they have to hew Germany away from Russia; we are to keep Czecko-Slovacia between Austria and Germany; what if you give self-determination to these states on the one hand, and on the other they act as a buffer in that iron-bound scheme of the Bagdad Railroad that was to create and unite that Empire of middle Europe and Asia, reaching from Hamburg to the Persian Gulf! We are to take Herzegovina and Bosnia from Austria and Croatia from Hungary, down to the Adriatic, and that for the purpose of putting another zone between Germany and Constantinople. Then there is Constantinople itself and we have to divine the Balkans. We'll have to give Transylvania to Roumania. But Roumania should be required to secure religious freedom to the Jews. Then we are to come over into Asia Minor and create an autonomous Palestine and let that be worked out; create an autonomy of Syria and another of Mesopotamia and Armenia, possibly Constantinople, and increase Greece, giving her her islands and possibly some colonies in Asia Minor. I think we are to create some twenty-four states where there were before three or four empires, and we are going to do it by treaty. People are impatient, and the pressure to make this treaty is great; but we took four months between the armistice and the signing of the treaty in the Spanish-American war, and we only had the Philippines and Cuba to attend to. It took four months between the armistice and the signing of the treaty between France and Russia, and

they had only two countries to dispose of. Here are twenty-four to dispose of and we must realize what the difficulties are, and how these fourteen nations, although united against Germany, have ambitious and selfish traits and it takes a long time to get people to agree, whose interests are at variance.

And when that treaty is made,—no sooner will it be signed, than differences will arise as to construction. Differences have already arisen between nations partly created—Ukrania and Germany. Even Poland is fighting the Czecho-Slavs, about part of Silesia. When this treaty is made, it will have to be construed; it will have to be authoritively construed and the construction will have to be settled in such a way that there is power behind the settlement. And where are you to get that power? Anywhere but from the nations that are making that treaty? Anywhere but from the nations that are dictating it to Germany? Anywhere but from the nations that won the war, that are in the League and must continue the League of Nations, if that treaty is to be put through? I have asked the objectors to point out a method by which the treaty can be enforced, unless we have a League of the nations so engaged, and have not heard an answer.

There is the problem. They are not engaged in discussing an academic question; they are facing the question of making a League and seeing that it is put through.

It is not possible to make a treaty without arranging the machinery for settling differences and when the differences are settled by judiciary or otherwise, then the enforcement follows.

And then I do not mean a League of world nations. Those now engaged are the charter members of the League, and it is this nucleus that will make a league of world nations possible. You can get these little nations into a combination they never would agree to otherwise. The little nation is like a bantam rooster. It wants all power. We had an international court projected in my administration, and the reason it failed was that the little nations each insisted on having a judge on the court. Then the other nations wanted fourteen times as many, because they were fourteen times larger, and so you had a court that was as big as this meeting and it became impossible. The providential adjustment of circumstances is that the great powers

who are united to dictate this peace, who need a League among themselves, must form the basis or nucleus for a League of Nations, and shall strive to make it practical, and then they can say to the smaller nations,—come in; you will be protected; you have representation. They cannot find fault and make objection any more than a man who goes into a club will, as soon as he enters, say he would like to move an amendment to the constitution. No. He has to be content with the condition he finds.

The objection that the League should be postponed has nothing in it. The President is right in insisting on the League going into the peace treaty. Therefore it will come back, and come back with the League of Nations in the treaty.

Then the boot will be on the other leg. The question will be, in order to separate the League from the Peace Treaty, they wish to postpone the Peace Treaty, and then the question will be, who is responsible for postponing the time for reconstruction and the beginning of business?

I also ought to say with respect to the League, that it is the great spectre of Bolshevism that the people now in Paris have to face. Bolshevism is turning society upside down. It is a menace to the world and to progress. It is bringing the lowest to the top—a dictatorship of the lowest proletarians. That is what it is. Other classes they divide; the rich, who are now not rich; rich only by reminiscences, of the intellectuals—the ministers, lawyers, doctors, teachers: then the bourgeois; they are set aside. And why? Because they have the prudential virtues; they favor thrift; they make their position better by industry—by saving and attention to business; by being good citizens; by taking care of their families; by shaving and keeping clean and by putting on as good clothes as they can reasonably afford and being respectable members of society. All this is a horrible sin in the eyes of the Bolsheviki, and so, when food is to be distributed, the Bolsheviki take what they need, and leave the rest to the other classes. That is certainly a reversal of society and it is retrogressive and it is the destruction of all possibility of progress. It is destructive in construction, and therefore it is the business of the League, if we are to maintain society worth having, to resist the onslaught of that

destructive agency. We need the League for that purpose. I cannot go into it fully, but it is another reason for making the League in the peace treaty.

There is an objection to the League that it is a transfer of sovereignty of the United States to a super-sovereignty—that is, the Executive Council. Why? It is said the Executive Council will declare war; has power to declare war for the United States, has power to declare a boycott, limit armament, do anything all down the line. The only answer to that is, "t'aint so". The Executive Council has no such power. The Executive Council is given the duty of recommending and proposing and advising. No other word is used. In order to make these arguments stick, the objectors have to argue that "recommend" means to command; that "advise" means to order; and that "propose" means to dictate or direct. I had always supposed that when a man recommended something to you, it opened an opportunity for you to act on the recommendation or not, as you chose. I had supposed when a man advised you to do something, you had the chance of following his advice or not, just as you choose. I had supposed that when a man proposed to you, it required the acceptance before you made a contract. (I am sure the ladies think this is true.) That is the argument, and I say it is a perversion of English. I say it is something that would not hold in a court for a minute, and this is not to be taken before a hostile court. This is to be construed by an agreement between nations and therefore must have a reasonable construction. Is it reasonable to say that the Executive Council, when it recommends, it commands; when it advises, it orders, and when it proposes, it directs. That answers itself, it seems to me.

There is, in this League, no obligation on the part of the United States, fixed by the Executive Council. The language of the League fixes the obligation of the United States, and when it performs that obligation it is performed without other than constitutional agencies. When it levies a boycott, it is through Congress, and when it makes war, it must be done through Congress, and when it limits armament, it must limit it through Congress, because Congress is the constitutional agency for the purpose.

By the treaty the government agrees to do these things and it is the duty of Congress to do them. But Congress has power to refuse to do them and dishonor the obligation if it wishes. In other words, it exercises sovereignty. It has power to do wrong if it will, but it doesn't make the promise, and the obligation of the government unconstitutional, otherwise we can make no treaties at all.

Another objection is that of English supremacy, to which I have referred. Another is that it will abolish the Monroe Doctrine and that Article X is the abrogation of the Monroe Doctrine to the entire world. We guarantee the political independence of every member of the League, not only those on this side, but every member of the League in every country. There is one provision in the Monroe Doctrine, grafted on since the original declaration, that no European nation shall be able to acquire territory on this side by purchase or government power. This is not specifically covered in the League I am free to admit, but I have no alarm on the subject. Were some European nation to attempt that, we would object and carry the matter before the body of delegates. We would say, this doctrine has been preserved for a hundred years; it is in the interest of peace and we insist it should be preserved. It would come before the body of delegates, and the body of delegates would consist of forty or fifty nations, of whom ten or twelve would be American countries. And do you think, in a question of policy, that the fourteen American countries, members of the League, would vote against the United States? Don't you think we may safely leave that to them? I am, however, in favor of a specific reservation on the Monroe Doctrine, and hope, in the meantime, as is being considered in Paris, we may have one.

I have been talking at great length about the covenants and the main objections. I have been over the country a good deal and there are three elements of the communities that are strongly in favor of these covenants, with or without amendments. They are the women of the country. They are sensitive to war; they feel the agony of war as men do not and they are strongly for the League. The second class is the workingmen of the country. Organized and unorganized labor are strongly for the League.

They may not always understand it and its complexities, but they know it is a machinery for the avoidance of war and they are against war because they know the workingman will have to bear the burden of war, on the same principle that red cows give more milk than others, because there are more of them. The third class in favor of the League are the church people—the religious people of the country. I hate to indicate that there are people who are not church people, but there are. The church people, the ministers—those who come under the influence of the ministers,—the clergy, are all strongly for the League.

Where is the hesitation? The hesitation is among the business men. I don't like to say so—I don't like to say any objection is not entirely sincere—but what I do say is that in a matter that concerns so highly the fate of the world; that concerns so highly the happiness of the peoples of the world and our own country, that consideration of party and personal consideration ought to be wholly eliminated. When a man thinks he really objects to the League, I want him to challenge himself with the intellectual honesty of an Abraham Lincoln, look into his reasons and see whether his attitude toward the League is not one of hostility for some other reason than the merits of the question; say to himself whether it is not due to the origin of the League; whether it is not due to the thought that somebody will get credit out of it whom he doesn't like? Or that some party will get credit for it that he doesn't like? If he will examine himself and answer those questions fairly to himself and still objects to the League, heaven knows I respect his conscientious objection. But I would have him come to a searching analysis of his objections and reasons and motives, and then, if he is opposed to the League, he is entitled to be heard and have his objections weighed.

But, my friends, here we are in sight of the promised land, in sight of something that no man who ever lived has seen, and that is, the union of all the nations of strength and power, to see if we cannot settle our differences in some way other than by killing one another and producing a hecatomb of the best lives in the world, With that as an issue, should we allow trivial personality or political consideration to influence us against this march of progress in the interest of mankind?

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BIBLIOGRAPHY OF JEWISH PROBLEMS OF THE RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD

SUBJECTS

1. Americanization.
2. Immigration.
3. Coordination of Communal Agencies.
4. The Returning Soldier.
5. The Task of the Synagog.
6. The Rehabilitation of Jewish Life and Institutions in Foreign Lands.
7. Palestine.
8. Education.
9. Jewish Ideals in the New World.
10. The Effect of the War on Judaism.

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AMERICANIZATION

The war has clearly evidenced America's failure to give serious and sufficient attention to the Americanization of the thousands and thousands of men and women who came to its shores from the various countries of the world. The ground must be cleared immediately for the correction of this mistake; social institutions and social workers must be mobilized to inculcate American ideals.

AMERICANIZATION

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IMMIGRATION

Immigation is now at a standstill. What our attitude toward this problem will be, depends entirely upon after war conditions, both in Europe and in America. Social and industrial conditions will have to be considered. We must await the recommendations of President Wilson and his co-workers, on their return from Europe, where they will have studied conditions first hand. In the meantime, it is well to realize what the immigrant in the past has done for America, and what America has done for him. With an historical appreciation of the whole question, we will be better able to discuss the immigrant of the future.

IMMIGRATION.

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Council of Jewish Women. Committee on Immigrant Aid.
Educational Alliance.
Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society.
Industrial Removal Office.
Inter-Racial Council.
League of Foreign Born Citizens.
National Jewish Immigration Council.
Naturalization Aid League.
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COORDINATION OF COMMUNITY FORCES

All the social agencies in the community must be so coordinated, as to avoid duplication of effort and waste of material, human or financial. To accomplish this end, a central agency of social forces is the most desirable. A study of the various institutions, with an idea of strong cooperation, should be made in every community. After a complete survey, it ought to be easily possible to bring about a union of all these social forces.

COORDINATION OF COMMUNAL AGENCIES

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THE RETURNING SOLDIER

To no problem do we owe greater consideration than to this one. The able bodied must be given employment and full opportunity for rehabilitation. To those who, unfortunately, return, partially disabled, must be given proper equipment for "carrying on." To those who are totally disabled must be given the kindest ministrations that social service can devise. It is a national problem in which all patriotic citizens are interested. These men must be reabsorbed into the civil life of the community, without any thought of charity, but in conformity with all the high principles of social justice.

THE RETURNING SOLDIER

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THE TASK OF THE SYNAGOG

The synagog of the future must minister to the entire community. It must become a centre for the social as well as the spiritual life; it must play an active part in all movements for social betterment and civic reform. In the past the synagog has been accused of being a class institution, undemocratic in its organization. The institutional synagog must become the rule rather than the exception; the rabbinate and the laity must unite to make the synagog the "friendliest" institution in the community.

THE TASK OF THE SYNAGOG.

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THE REHABILITATION OF JEWISH LIFE AND INSTITUTIONS IN FOREIGN LANDS

The war has ruined scores of Jewish communities and stifled the development of hundreds of Jewish institutions in the old world. The story of Jewry in war ravaged countries is a tragic tale of misery, hunger and death. The Jews of America, by God's mercy, have escaped the fate meted out to their brethren overseas. The obligation rests upon them to play a mighty part in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Jewish life and institutions in foreign lands.

REHABILITATION OF JEWISH LIFE IN FOREIGN LANDS.

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PALESTINE

Palestine is dear to the heart of every Jew. It is the spiritual center, whence eminated the religion of our fathers, to which the majority of Jews cling with undying devotion. In the light of recent events, it is essential that a study of its economic possibilities be made. Every Jewish social worker must be prepared to give as detailed information as possible in regard to Palestine. Whatever difference of opinion there may be in regard to method, there is none in regard to the urgency of a speedy rehabilitation of the Holy Land.

PALESTINE

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EDUCATION

The question of Jewish education is one of the most serious and perplexing problems that faces us. Welfare workers have been astounded at the paucity of Jewish education evidenced by those of our youth with whom they came in contact. In the past we have been indifferent to the thousands and thousands of Jewish children who have been denied elementary religious education. It is time to give serious thought to the solution of this pressing question.

EDUCATION

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JEWISH IDEALS IN THE NEW WORLD

Men are predicting the arrival of a new religion. Long established dogmas and doctrines are being cast on the theological scrap heap. Ancient theologies are being over-turned; Liberalism is daily recruiting its thousands. Many of these so-called new religious ideals are essentially Jewish.

JEWISH IDEALS IN THE NEW WORLD.

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THE EFFECT OF THE WAR ON JUDAISM

What has been the effect of the war on Judaism? Was Judaism ever pacifistic? Judaism and universal peace. The allied countries and the Jews.

EFFECT OF WAR ON JUDAISM

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Deceased Members

Aaron, Israel, Buffalo, N. Y.....1912
Adler, Samuel, New York City.....1891
Adler, Liebman, Chicago, Ill.....1892
Bauer, Solomon H., Chicago, Ill.....1913
Benjamin, Raphael, Brooklyn, N. Y.....1907
Bien, Henry M., Vicksburg, Miss.....1895
Birkenthal, Herman, Hamilton, Ont.....1893
Blaustein, David, New York City.....1912
Bloch, Jacob, Portland, Ore.....1916
Bogen, Joseph, Jackson, Tenn.....1919
Bonnheim, Benjamin A., Cincinnati, O.....1909
Caro, Victor, Milwaukee, Wis.....1912
Chumaceiro, H. J. M., Curacao, D. W. I.....1905
Cohen, Oscar J., Mobile, Ala.....1901
Elkin, Meyer, Hartford, Conn.....1915
Feldman, Ephraim, Cincinnati, O.....1910
Felsenthal, Bernard, Chicago, Ill.....1908
Feuerlicht, David, Owensboro, Ky.....1897
Fischer, E. K., Chattanooga, Tenn.....1903
Friedlander, Joseph, Plainfield, N. J.....1917
Gottheil, Gustav, New York City.....1903
Gries, Moses J., Cleveland, O.....1918
Grossman, Ignatz, Chicago, Ill.....1897
Guttmacher, Adolf, Baltimore, Md.....1915
Herz, Joseph, Columbus, Miss.....1909
Hess, Emanuel L., St. Paul, Minn.....1907
Jacobson, Jacob S., Chicago, Ill.....1911
Joseph, Israel, Montgomery, Ala.....1897
Kaiser, Alois, Baltimore, Md.....1908
Lazarus, Abraham, Houston, Tex.....1900
Leucht, Isaac L., New Orleans, La.....1914

LEVY, ABRAHAM R., Chicago, Ill.....1915
LEVY, JOSEPH LEONARD, Pittsburgh, Pa.....1917
LEVY, M. S., San Francisco, Cal.....1916
LOEWENSTEIN, AARON, Chicago, Ill.....1901
MACHOL, MICHAEL, Cleveland, O.....1912
MANNHEIMER, SIGMUND, Cincinnati, O.....1909
MAYER, LIPPMAN, Pittsburgh, Pa.....1904
MESSING, AARON J., Chicago, Ill.....1916
MESSING, HENRY J., St. Louis, Mo.....1913
MIELZINER, MOSES, Cincinnati, O.....1903
MOSES, ADOLPH, Louisville, Ky.....1902
NOOT, MEYER, Williamsport, Pa.....1916
NORDEN, AARON, Chicago, Ill.....1905
RADIN, ADOLPH M., New York City.....1909
SADLER, BERNARD, Easton, Pa.....1917
SAMFIELD, MAX, Memphis, Tenn.....1915
SCHWAB, ISAAC, St. Joseph, Mo.....1907
SOLOMON, M., Appleton, Wis.....1892
SONNENSCHEIN, SOLOMON, St. Louis, Mo.....1908
STEMPLE, I., Yonkers, N. Y.....1900
STRAUSS, LEON, Belleville, Ill.....1895
SZOLD, BENJAMIN, Baltimore, Md.....1902
VOORSANGER, JACOB, San Francisco, Cal.....1908
WECHSLER, JUDAH, Indianapolis, Ind.....1907
WEISS, L., Bradford, Pa.....1909
WISE, AARON, New York City.....1896
WISE, ISAAC M., Cincinnati, O.....1900
ZIRNDORF, HEINRICH, Cincinnati, O.....1893

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1892.....Washington, D. C.
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1894.....Atlantic City, N. J.
1895.....Rochester, N. Y.
1896.....Milwaukee, Wis.
1897.....Montreal, Canada
1898.....Atlantic City, N. J.
1899.....Cincinnati, O.
1900.....Buffalo, N. Y.
1901.....Philadelphia, Pa.
1902.....New Orleans, La.
1903.....Detroit, Mich.
1904.....Louisville, Ky.
1905.....Cleveland, O.
1906.....Indianapolis, Ind.
1907-1908.....Frankfort, Mich.
1909.....New York, N. Y.
1910.....Charlevoix, Mich.
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1912.....Baltimore, Md.
1913.....Atlantic City, N. J.
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1915.....Charlevoix, Mich.
1916.....Wildwood, N. J.
1917.....Buffalo, N. Y.
1918.....Chicago, Ill.
1919.....Cincinnati, O.

Atlantic City, N. J.1894, 1898, 1913
Baltimore, Md.....1891, 1912
Buffalo, N. Y.....1900, 1917
Charlevoix, Mich.....1910, 1915
Chicago, Ill.....1893, 1918
Cincinnati, O.....1899, 1919
Cleveland, O.....1890, 1905
Detroit, Mich.....1889, 1903, 1914
Frankfort, Mich.....1907, 1908
Indianapolis, Ind.....1906
Louisville, Ky.....1904
Milwaukee, Wis.....1896
Montreal, Canada.....1897
New Orleans, La.....1902
New York, N. Y.....1892, 1909
Philadelphia, Pa.....1901
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St. Paul-Minneapolis.....1911
Washington, D. C.....1892
Wildwood, N. J.....1916

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